Rupert Wilkinson *Subsidizing Slavery*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

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Communists and the Common Market

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

The Lecture

★ All the top central bankers of the free world are coming to Washington next week to try to gloss over a problem which really can't be glossed over and that sooner or later is going to become politically intolerable to the United States. It takes a bit of explaining but at heart is very simple. There is a deep and basic clash of interest in the world today: international monetary policies require that the US *deflate*, domestic economic policies require that the US *inflate*. The world bankers and our own Federal Reserve System are on the side of restriction; every frightened unemployed worker in America is on the side of policies that spell expansion. And in August the percentage of unemployed jumped from 5.3 to 5.8 percent – a 9 percent increase. It is another sign that we are probably heading into recession.

Part of the problem is simply mechanical; the world does business on an international exchange medium based on gold, and enough gold isn't being mined to carry the load. So the free world has built up an elaborate credit pyramid on the dollar (and to a lesser extent the pound) and demands that these currencies be kept "steady."

Every other commodity in short supply goes up in value except gold, because gold is pegged to the dollar. No other country except the US is committed to exchange its currency abroad for gold without limit at a fixed price.

On top of this burden the US is humiliatingly admonished by hard-eyed foreign bankers periodically to "keep its house in order," *i.e.*, to deflate. "Don't spend money to stimulate your economy and aid the unemployed – it might damage the prestige of the dollar!" That is the lecture. We are also abjured to keep wages low to stimulate exports – this creates a favorable trade balance, which brings back gold.

Well, that raises the second point. We already *have* a favorable trade balance in goods. We presently export a whole lot more goods than we import. Our "unfavorable" balance comes primarily from the military assistance and foreign aid we are pumping abroad. Many of the foreign bankers who lecture the US come from prosperous European countries which won't shoulder their share of the burden. We could get a favorable balance by ending foreign aid.

One reason this preposterous situation continues is that the voter can't understand it. It is too complicated. He threatens to meet it in simpler terms. For one thing a big drive is starting in Congress to cut back foreign aid. Foreign aid is an innocent bystander – the kind that always gets hit when street brawl shooting starts. For another thing, as unemployment drags on and the Administration temporizes the demand for Federal spending grows; a little bit more and the cry will be to "Aid the idle; hang the gold in Ft. Knox!"

Burden of the Dollar

★ This clash between foreign monetary needs and domestic economic needs is very artificial. There is no real reason for it; the two are not natural antagonists. They are made so because the dollar has been drafted arbitrarily to be the world's exchange medium and a heavy burden hung on it. The leaders of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund who meet here next week ought to be able to work out a more broadly based medium not tied to one country's currency. But probably they will try to gloss things over.

In that case our guess is that in five or ten years the crazy system will collapse. The world's liquidity requirements are growing all the time. In recent years they have been derived only partly from new gold production; two-thirds have come from continuous depletion of US reserves. When the US finally says, "No more," some other system will have to be found.

Statesmen – and politicians too – have to go through the motions of acting when the public demands action but where drastic action would be folly. Congress is ordering Kennedy, "Do something about Cuba," and Kennedy is responding by asking stand-by authority to call up 150,000 reserves, only a month after demobilizing the 148,000 reserves called up to impress Khrushchev in the next-to-last Berlin crisis. As far as we can interpret it here this is a stalling device, very much like the old device of appointing a commission. We assume that (*a*) Congress will promptly grant him the power, and (*b*) Kennedy probably won't use it.

The kind of chairmen that seniority brings to Congressional committees is twice illustrated here. A safe Negro district in Harlem has elected Adam Clayton Powell since 1944. This gives him seniority to become automatically chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee. Powell has been running around Europe since Aug. 8 with two female companions using counterpart funds, but now he has rushed home in Puerto Rico to his wife, a $12,000-a-year "secretary" of the House committee. The 31-man committee, however, wouldn't think of electing another chairman.

Senator James O. Eastland, a racist from Mississippi, comes from a safe anti-Negro state that has elected him since 1942. His accumulated seniority makes him automatically chairman of the powerful Judiciary committee. For 11 months this committee has stalled confirmation of Judge Thurgood Marshall to an appellate court. Now it has acted 11-4, but Eastland and racist subcommittee chairman Olin Johnston, (D, SC), will still fight confirmation. The committee, however, wouldn't think of electing another chairman.

Notes

★ Detroit's new models will emphasize speed and power; nothing will stop this stupid race till the US graduates taxes by horsepower, as Europe does.... When the stock market collapsed this spring mutual funds sank with the rest; now a long-term analysis by the Wharton School of Finance says that mutual shares, with all their expert professional advice, have normally done no better than the stock market as a whole.

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Cuban Jitters

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The President in distinguishing "technicians" from troops and *Tass* in its guarded reference to "technical specialists for training Cuban servicemen" both took care to define the limits of the recently expanded Soviet program of military support for Castro. Moscow's communique of September 2 does not commit the USSR to the direct defense of Cuba in the event of military action against the Castro regime. In contrast to the threatening reminder by Premier Khrushchev in July, 1960, that Cuba could be defended by Soviet ICBM's capable of reaching the Midwest, the communique does not mention the United States, justifying the acceleration of Russian military shipments to Cuba during the first three weeks of August in the name of unspecified "threats of aggressive imperialist quarters."

The gauntlet would be thrown down if the Soviet Union were to give in to Cuban pressure for protection under the Warsaw Pact or to acknowledge in some other form collective security obligations comparable to those assumed by the US in its military assistance relationships with countries along the Soviet periphery. But Moscow appears to recognize that by taking this step it might pass the point of no return. In this respect, as well as in their restriction of missile shipments to Nike type rockets for anti-aircraft defense, the Russians have avoided giving the US an unambiguous pretext for intervention.

Although much has been made of it, the fact that the weapons supplied to Cuba are defensive in character is of relatively little practical consequence, for it is Soviet, not Cuban, military power that would threaten the US should general war break out. Even offensive, surface-to-surface missiles fired from Cuba would be a marginal strategic factor. However, the growing Soviet presence in Cuba is likely to prove of some importance to Soviet military intelligence. The large numbers of Soviet bloc servicemen may not only help deter intervention; they also provide a camouflage for Soviet intelligence installations. The US Navy, which has been snooping around Cuba, has been on the lookout principally for signs of sophisticated electronic equipment which could tune in on Cape Canaveral just 90 miles away. It has been officially disclosed only that the Cubans have received radar units for missile guidance, but it would be surprising if the Russians are not using Cuba as an intelligence base. A detection system headquartered in Cuba could be linked up with Soviet tracking vessels such as those found cruising off Long Island during the rendezvous attempt of cosmonauts Nikolayev and Popovich and thereby refine

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the existing Soviet intelligence apparatus. Theoretically, it would be possible from Cuba to "jam" ground signals that control the Canaveral rockets, deflecting them from their course.

While laughing off the idea that Cuba poses any military danger to the US, some have expressed fears that the Soviet Union intends to use Cuban territory and the Cuban armed forces for the military support of other Latin revolutions. Yet as of this time, as the President noted in his September 4 statement, the latest Soviet military shipments remain of a defensive nature, though he warned that "were it to be otherwise, the gravest issues would arise." Cuba lacks not only offensive weaponry but the transport aircraft and naval capability to provide logistical support for significant military adventures beyond its borders. A radically recast Soviet military aid program would have to be undertaken to begin to build such a capability.

With the exception of military intelligence, the principal objectives of the new Soviet buildup seem to be political. Moscow is shoring up Castro internally by giving him the armed force to intimidate opposition and to stimulate a domestic atmosphere of crisis. The crash economic aid which has also been provided is part of an intensified effort to prolong the regime. So long as Khrushchev has this counter to play he is in a position to make Washington pay a high price in discomfiture for America's own military presence in the countries bordering the Soviet Union and China. It has now become the obvious purpose of Soviet diplomacy to use Cuba as a lever in negotiating with the US on Berlin, South Vietnam and Taiwan.

It is the use by the US of military and intelligence outposts along the Communist periphery that leaves Washington so immobilized in its response to the buildup in Cuba. "We should remember that we maintain and insist upon the right to maintain military bases or forces in countries bordering the Soviet Union," observed the *Washington Evening Star*. "If we assert the right to do this in 1962 it is difficult for us to see how the Monroe Doctrine of 1823 can rationally be invoked now to deny a similar right to Russia in the case of Cuba."

Nevertheless, Senator Keating (R, NY) appears to believe that the US could act without serious risk in intercepting "all vessels in Western Hemisphere waters which we have reason to suspect carry armed forces personnel or materiel." The Senator, who may have been addressing the November election gallery in his home state, failed to consult the international law books. The most perfunctory look at *Oppenheim's* makes clear that in the present instance Soviet vessels are those of a third party in a conflict in which the main antagonists are Cuba and the US, and that to intercept them would therefore be tantamount to a belligerent act. The fallacy of the Keating suggestion and of similar campaign oratory is accentuated by the fact that the vessels of Soviet bloc countries as well as of NATO powers have transported the recent shipments. In effect, the US would be asserting the right to license the world's commerce with Cuba should it attempt unilaterally to control her arms traffic.

As for demands that the US invade, the President has made his intentions clear. The Soviet Union would stand to gain much more throughout Latin America than it might lose in Cuba itself through provoking a US or US-sponsored action against an island of six million people.

Farmers' Beef

Meat, particularly beef, usually stands at the top of the shopping list that housewives carry to market. It's the most expensive and sought after of the everyday items in the store. That is why grocers place the meat department in the rear, as far away from the entrance as possible. For thus they can cause shoppers to walk through the departments in which other staples are sold and expose them to the lure of bargain offers among the canned goods, vegetables and bread. Efficient grocers also offer meat specials on weekends when the housewife does most of her shopping.

Last week there were far fewer special sales, particularly of beef. The strike called at the end of August by the National Farmers Organization – a new group bent on repeating in this country what it prefers to call "withholding actions" of the type familiar in France – has proven to be surprisingly effective. Shipments of livestock to primary markets have fallen sufficiently to force wholesale prices, again particularly in the case of beef, up to the target levels set by the NFO, that is, from about 30 to 32½ cents a pound. Hog prices have risen too, but not quite as sharply. Sheep, corn and soybeans, the other farm staples that the NFO has asked farmers to withhold from the wholesale markets, have been much less affected.

Beef has already risen sharply at retail levels, and there is some reason to believe that such increases are not justified by the small (less than eight percent) advance in the wholesale quotations. But packing house workers have been laid off in at least seven major plants in the Midwest, with more layoffs likely if the farmers who have been signed up by the NFO stand fast. This is the critical week. Then strikers will have it made, or lost what they want – contractual agreements with processors providing that specified farm products are to be bought, not at auctions, but at fixed, higher prices direct from the growers.

It looks as if the NFO effort to achieve the Adminis-

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tration's objective in farm policy, *supply management*, but on a strictly voluntary basis, will fail. Farming is too highly capitalized today for farmers to stand the strain of feeding expensive rations to hogs more than a week, or to beef cattle for more than two weeks past their prime for the markets.

Non-Political Politics

September will find the President visiting the big Eastern cities in another "non-political" tour, along the lines of last month's successful Western swing. His main objective will not be to woo votes for his party directly, but to rouse the voters from their off-year apathy. Democratic strategists figure that a big turnout favors their party.

September is also slated to be the month in which Mr. Kennedy finally strokes his pen and abolishes all color distinctions in federal housing projects. That could swing Negro votes in Pennsylvania, Michigan, California and New York. The Attorney-General will also do his bit by initiating the first federal suits to integrate Southern schools in "federally impacted areas." (Schools in these areas educate many children of federal employees, but for constitutional reasons cannot collect taxes on federal property. In lieu of taxes they get $300 million a year in subsidies.)

In October the campaign tempo will quicken. Thirteen Western states – with 12 Senate and 69 House seats at stake – will receive major attention. "If our opponents are to gain in the Senate, it is here they will try hardest to gain," the President's Special Counsel Theodore Sorensen, told the Western States Democratic Conference in August. "If we are to gain in the House, it is here that we must make those gains." No great energy will be expended in cutting down Democrats who have obstructed the Administration's path in Congress. Instead, the President will help Democrats who promise to help him in the future.

Will all this make any difference? "History is against us," the President has remarked, referring to the fact that the party in power customarily loses seats between Presidential elections. With four million Americans unemployed, Kennedy's working-class supporters are not itching to reaffirm their loyalty at the polls. But neither is business bad enough to set off any sizable "anti" movement.

The one new element in the midterm picture is the change in representation due to the 1960 census. If the Democrats can hold their own elsewhere and win in California's eight new districts (a gain which a recent pro-Democratic gerrymander makes quite possible), the President would pick up a few precious

Footnotes *to the* Week

RECENT CASUALTIES of the Congressional offensive against New Frontier "spending" include the $500 million urban mass transit bill and the Youth Conservation Corps. The $740 million "quality education" bill to create special institutes for revising curricula and retraining teachers is also dead, along with $950 million to increase the number of doctors and dentists by expanding training facilities and offering scholarships to those unable to pay stiff tuition charges. The $2.6 billion proposal for college scholarships and classroom construction is expected to expire in conference, despite last minute efforts to work out a compromise. The foreign aid appropriation will probably be cut $1.5 billion and perhaps more. —— CONGRESS HAS *blown hot and cold over farm price support legislation so long that traders on the New York and Chicago grain and cotton exchanges are speculating about the climate on Capitol Hill rather than about the weather in the fields. With each postponement of Congressional action, pessimism has deepened and prices have drifted downward. Until the announcement of a possible call-up of 150,000 reservists, prices were at or near record lows for this time of year.* —— THE RESERVE CALL-UP authorization will get little or no outright opposition, but most Congressmen see it as a political gambit. The move is meant to demonstrate our strong nerves, both to Khrushchev and Ulbricht and to right-wing critics of a "do nothing" policy in Cuba. To use the authorization so soon after the discharge of reservists called up last year, and after expanding the standing army in order to avoid future call-ups, would hurt the President politically unless there were a shooting war. Yet if there were a war the President could declare a national emergency and begin call-ups without Congressional authorization. —— ANTI-SEMITIC OUTBREAKS *in the Argentine have both US diplomats and Argentine Jews worried. Six times as many Argentine applications for Israeli immigration visas were received in July as in the previous six months.* —— DEFENSE SECRETARY McNAMARA has approved an unpublished report urging a multi-billion dollar buildup in air mobility of ground forces over the next few years. It recommends that armed helicopters and short-takeoff planes supplement and in some cases replace trucks and jeeps. —— US NUCLEAR WEAPONS *will be kept out of space, at least so long as the Soviets do the same, Deputy Defense Secretary Gilpatric said at South Bend last week in a White House approved statement. But research and development projects on the military uses of space are going forward to ensure that the US can "cope with any military challenge in outer space."*

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votes for his program in the House. If he does not at least hold his own, the Rules Committee will probably revert to its pre-1960 complexion. In that event no legislation will reach the House floor unless it is acceptable to Rep. Howard Smith.

Who Can Beat Rockefeller?

Two years ago, John F. Kennedy carried New York by a solid 384,000 votes – more than three times his national margin of victory. For that emphatic popular endorsement the splintered New York Democratic Party could take little credit. This year, with the governorship and a Senate seat at stake, the divided Democrats have been frantically searching for someone of prominence to put up against Governor Rockefeller and Senator Javits, both of whom are hard to beat.

The seeds of chaos were sown in the mid-1950's under Governor Harriman, who took over in Albany after 12 years of Republican rule. Harriman had a long-awaited chance to bring able younger men to prominence in the party. He muffed it by abandoning the organization to Carmine De Sapio and his Tammany-style satraps. At the celebrated 1958 Democratic state convention in Buffalo, De Sapio openly dictated the nomination of his home-county District Attorney, Frank S. Hogan, for the US Senate – over the angry but ineffectual protests of Eleanor Roosevelt, ex-Senator Herbert Lehman and Harriman himself. De Sapio's blatant "bossism" became a major winning issue for Rockefeller, who buried his opponents in a 573,000-vote landslide. After the 1958 debacle it was time for strong measures. None was forthcoming.

Out of the ashes of Democratic defeat rose only a "reform" movement of young intellectuals in Manhattan aimed at ousting De Sapio as leader of the New York County Democratic organization. The old pros outside Manhattan, instinct with the shrewdness of long experience, abandoned De Sapio as state leader the moment the disastrous 1958 balloting was over.

Fast footwork by the Kennedy forces kept the conflict between genteel New Dealism and the cigar-chomping cynicism of the "bosses" limited to minor skirmishes in 1960, but last year it was open war. To the astonishment of many in New York City, Mayor Wagner broke with the machine and went on to win both reelection and *de facto* party leadership after enlisting the reformers' somewhat grudging support for his deadpan impersonation of Civic Virtue. With their backing, and with the endorsements of Mrs. Roosevelt and Senator Lehman, Wagner razed the bosses' crumbling castle – but built nothing in its place. In the primaries in the city two weeks ago, the reformers, though they polled a large number of votes, were able to nominate their candidate in only one of four Congressional districts (William Fitts Ryan in Manhattan).

Wagner was the obvious Democratic choice for Governor in 1962, since no other eligible Democrat has his statewide popularity – a fact that by itself demonstrates the low estate to which the party has fallen. But Wagner was having none of the nomination. He kept his hand in, however, by such fumbling maneuvers as sending up a trial balloon on Ralph Bunche for Senator without bothering to consult Bunche; by the time the Mayor got around to telephoning his would-be candidate, reporters had already got from Bunche the perfectly honest statement that he had never heard of the idea and of course he would stay on at the UN. After that, Wagner took off for a five-week tour of the capitals of Europe – when, from his party's point of view, he might more usefully have been denouncing Rockefeller from the political pulpits of Upstate New York.

Since then Wagner has in effect abdicated party leadership to a *sub rosa* palace guard headed by Louis Harris, star poll-taker for Kennedy in 1960 and for Wagner himself in 1961. This bizarre substitute for a political organization decided to back a Jewish candidate for Governor (to subdue Rockefeller in heavily-Democratic New York City, where he got an impressive 43 percent of the vote in 1958). With Wagner's assent, they went to work for Robert M. Morgenthau, son of the late Secretary Henry Morgenthau Jr. and since last year US Attorney for the Southern District of New York. With their backing, the reserved and decent Mr. Morgenthau is now the unenvied leading contender for the nomination at the Syracuse convention of Democrats on September 17.

Meanwhile, Wagner has retired behind the screen of a $60,000-a-year public relations staff charged with keeping him out of as much trouble as possible until 1964. They seem to be succeeding; for example, the New York *World-Telegram and Sun*, which used to belabor Wagner daily with scandals real and imagined, recently devoted much of its front page to a hot "exclusive" – a glowing program for New York City by the Mayor himself. So the party flounders along, and by 1964 the Democratic nomination for the Senate may be worth no more than it is in 1962.

The Soblen Case

Dr. Robert Soblen has excited feelings of anger, shame, sympathy. The process by which anyone is caught, tried and jailed is not pretty, but Soblen has compelled us to observe every terrible detail. Some ask whether it is not outrageous for the law to insist on claiming its pound of his sick flesh.

The facts are these. Soblen, 61 years old and suffer-

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ing from lymphatic leukemia, was convicted by an American court of espionage and sentenced to life imprisonment. His final appeal to the Supreme Court was refused, on June 25. Soblen fled to Israel, thus forfeiting $100,000 in bail, $40,000 of which was supplied by his wife and the remainder by people who owed him nothing but to whom he owed his brief freedom. He was picked up immediately by the Israeli police and expelled. He had been using a forged Canadian passport of his dead brother. In flight to London the Chief Marshal of the United States who had been sitting beside him having gone to the bathroom, Soblen slashed his wrists and stabbed himself in the stomach with a steak knife. His intent was not suicide but the gaining of time. He was hospitalized on July 1. About two months later, under order of deportation by the Home Secretary, he swallowed a massive dose of sleeping pills and collapsed in the prison van carrying him to a New York-bound airliner. As of this writing, he is back in Hillingdon Hospital, unconscious.

If an outrage has been committed, it has been committed by Dr. Soblen, not by the American Government which for many years gave this immigrant from Russian-occupied Lithuania its protection and granted him naturalization in 1947 and was repaid, as were those who put up bond for him, with contempt. The country against which he spied on behalf of a foreign power has every right to expect that he will serve his sentence. Likewise, though espionage is not specifically listed as an extraditable offense in any extradition treaty, British law permits the Home Secretary administrative discretion to accede to the request that Soblen be returned. To deny that request would be not only to affront American opinion (a very minor offense) but the integrity of American justice, and to put in question the right of a society to defend itself. The question of whether Soblen is guilty of a "political crime" is a question of definition, but surely there is a generally acknowledged distinction between a spy and a rebel. Soblen was not convicted of trying to change our form of government or of dissenting from a prevailing orthodoxy in the United States. As a member of a Soviet espionage ring which sought to obtain information connected with the national defense, particularly the operations of US intelligence services, Soblen's activities were injurious not just to the country of his adoption but to all the West. If a British subject found guilty in British courts of the same crime were to escape and be found in New York City, without a visa, and if his return were demanded by London, no plea for political asylum would avail.

Dr. Soblen is a tragic but not a sympathetic figure. Justice is not furthered by pardoning a criminal because he does not want to go to jail or has frustrated justice or because he may not have long to live.

Venus Bound

In the idiom of gamesmanship, the successful launching of the Mariner II Venus probe put the National Aeronautics and Space Administration "one up" on the Soviets. It also provided the perfect occasion for NASA's director, James E. Webb, to debunk Soviet claims of an unbroken string of triumphs. Responding to a query from Sen. Robert Kerr and Rep. George Miller, chairmen of the Senate and House space committees, Mr. Webb disclosed that in the past two years the USSR has launched six interplanetary probes: two toward Mars and four toward Venus. Five never escaped from the earth, and the other, which was successfully launched in a trajectory that would carry it to the neighborhood of Venus, yielded no information because its radio went dead a few million miles from the earth. The two most recent Soviet failures occurred in the past few weeks. It must have been particularly satisfying for Mr. Webb to point out that all five of the unsuccessful launchings were due to rocket failure. This imparts a rather wooden ring to repeated Soviet boasts about the unerring reliability of their rockets.

The Venus probe is by far the most difficult and important accomplishment of either nation's program. The distance between the two planets is so great that a

"I'm rooting for the Yankees."

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probe must be launched with an accuracy considerably greater than that required to achieve an orbital rendezvous of two manned satellites. From a scientific viewpoint, the probe is much more valuable than a man in orbit because it will add greatly to our meager knowledge about the earth's cloud-covered cosmic "twin." From a political viewpoint, it should quiet, at least temporarily, what Representative Miller called "agitation that borders on panic" for more military spending in space. The crescendo of drumbeating by the Air Force and the aerospace trade press reached a new intensity after the near-rendezvous of the two Soviet cosmonauts last month.

Telstar's Future

In the wake of Senate approval of the Telstar bill, a requiem is being sung over the body of the liberals who led the filibuster against it. It is being said that they have foreclosed their "moral" right to battle when Southern Democrats filibuster on civil rights legislation. It is being said these liberals have proved what Southern Democrats have claimed for years – that there is no need to liberalize Rule XXII governing Senate debates, since the Senate can invoke cloture any time it wants.

No such moral can be drawn, for in the first place, the lines of the battle over the satellite communication bill made for an exceptionally eccentric legislative picture. Many of the Administration's reliable friends opposed the measure; many of its natural enemies favored it. Similarly, while civil rights Senators were joined by anti-civil rights colleagues in voting against cloture, other Senate liberals were allied with anti-civil rights Senators in voting to invoke cloture. If the vote proves anything, it is that the facts of the case were unique. Rule XXII still needs redrafting to give the minority a suspensive veto over the will of the majority, while allowing the majority its will after a full hearing.

As for the communications satellite legislation itself, the debate over government ownership has been closed – at least for now. Despite confusion among proponents and opponents alike, the corporation authorized is a public-private hybrid, an experiment, and nearly as far removed from traditional free enterprise as it is from government ownership. During the first critical year, it is the President who will have most to say about the character of the new enterprise, for it is he who appoints the incorporators who in turn appoint temporary officers and offer stock for sale. Thereafter, the corporation will be managed by a 15-man board, six of whom will be selected by FCC-authorized communications carriers, while the President will appoint (with Senate approval) three members, the remaining six elected by the individual stockholders. Since wide public distribution of the stock is to be encouraged, and it is a truism that control becomes separated from ownership in widely held corporations, it will bear watching who stockholders' nominees are and how they behave.

As important as the composition of this mixed board will be the attitude of the State Department and the FCC. State is to be informed by the corporation of its negotiations with other governments and is to advise the corporation in return. Whether this advice effectively ensures that Telstar's development harmonizes with national policy will depend on the vigor of the officer in State upon whom the task falls and the strong backing of the Secretary and the President. FCC Chairman Minow, Marquis Childs has reported, has argued in private that government operation of the communications satellite system would be impossible because the FCC cannot retain high calibre engineers on its civil service salaries. The same point applies to the Commission's ability to regulate Telstar: if it hasn't the means to do its job, good intentions will be no consolation. Those Senators and Representatives distrustful of the new corporation will have their work cut out for them to aid the FCC in getting funds and staff commensurate with its enlarged responsibilities.

U-2 over China

The Chinese Communists may be expected to make a federal case of the Nationalist U-2 reconnaissance plane shot down over East China last week. The Russians, on the other hand, played it very cool a week earlier, when announcing that an American U-2 had flown briefly over a Soviet island north of Japan. The difference may be attributable to the Chinese desire to push the Russians into a stronger stand against the West. And Russian moderation may be attributable in part to a reluctance to reveal the weakness of Soviet defenses.

This latest incident of high-spying is only more of the same, however much the Chinese Communists try to inflate its significance. Over the past few years, the Peking Government has announced the shooting down of five or six Nationalist planes over the mainland or along its coast. Such reprisals are not only intended to put a spotlight on the intelligence operations of the US and its allies, but are also part of the continuing undeclared war between the two Chinas. Chiang's landing parties have made frequent forays into enemy territory. Undoubtedly Nationalist planes have flown many times over the mainland. The Communist Chinese have been bombarding Nationalist-held islands, and the Nationalists have retaliated. If this most recent flight had been made by a plane with another name, the story would have warranted no more than a few paragraphs in the *New York Times*.

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THE YOUNG TURKS VERSUS THE OLD GUARD IN CHINA

Red Army Out of Step

Hong Kong

One of the most extraordinary facts about last May's exodus of 70,000 Chinese men, women and children to Hong Kong was that not one of the refugees was a soldier. All ranks held fast, while orders were reversed and re-reversed, and the potentially infectious torrent swept harmlessly past dozens of military frontier posts. This fact should be borne constantly in mind when reading Western reports of Army discontent in China. Still, discontent there undoubtedly is. Only six months ago the Politburo, Defense Minister, National Defense Council, press, radio and commissars all admitted Army discontent, criticized Army shortcomings and errors, and publicly embarked on the seventh campaign of strenuous indoctrination since 1954.

What is the source of the trouble? Some observers, noting that the Defense Minister, Marshal Lin Piao, had felt obliged to repeat Chairman Mao's warning that, "Our principle is that the party commands the gun, and that the gun will never command the party," have concluded that China is afflicted with nascent Bonapartism. They remember that under Marshal Peng Teh-huai the Army took sides with the "managerial" section of the Politburo to impose restraint on Chairman Mao's breakneck commune policy. What they seem to forget is that when Mao retaliated by demoting Marshal Peng, the Army accepted the decision.

Despite food shortages and popular discontent, there is no more evidence of potential disloyalty in the Army today than in the past. The new indoctrination campaign, like its six predecessors, has been stirred not by disloyalty but by the persistence of a ten-year-old conflict within the Army and the Party. On one side is the "guerrilla" generation, both in the party and in the Army, which established the People's Republic. On the other side is the "professional" generation of officers, which came to the fore in Korea, studied in Soviet staff schools, and wants China to reject the guerrilla philosophy and "adapt to the nuclear age."

Mao came to power, unlike Lenin, as the leader of a tough and experienced revolutionary Army, intoxicated with victory and welcomed at the outset as saviors by peasants, workers and intellectuals. The party chiefs were themselves soldiers. In adversity Mao and his advisers had planned shrewdly for changes and had boldly exploited flexibility in tactics and strategy. But in victory they failed to see that the now inactive Army needed a new basis for maintaining morale. Mao committed his government to an attitude of apparent indifference toward nuclear weapons and proclaimed China's lofty preference for a "spiritual atomic bomb." The Old Guard deprecated modernization and Mao's old comrade, Chu Teh, argued that "political systems and the essence of the people's hearts make the difference between defeat and victory, which weapons can never achieve."

The younger officers thought – and think – otherwise. They wanted – and want – mechanization, a modern defense against surprise air attack, improved and uninterrupted training, and nuclear weapons. The next war, they argue, will be neither a guerrilla war nor a war of attrition. They doubt that a stout Chinese heart and a proud party slogan are any match for a foreign devil's hydrogen bomb.

It was to them that Marshal Lin addressed a special directive at the beginning of 1961: "There are some officers who think that modern warfare is now different from wars fought in the past. They must realize that politics and bravery are still the chief assets. . . . What Chairman Mao calls 'the spiritual atomic bomb' is a monopoly of the Chinese people." At about this time an observant neutral Asian diplomat in Peking noted that Soviet Army technical magazines were no longer on view in Chinese Army messes and clubs.

Despite the conservatism of the Old Guard, the People's Liberation Army has undergone massive reorganization three times since the dear dead days of Chiang Kai-shek. In 1949 the victorious guerrilla forces of Mao had to be re-tailored to the novel requirements of a national standing army, with barracks, marching columns, smart uniforms, decorations and centralized headquarters instead of field bivouacs, phantom raiders, rusty equipment and shifting bases. Then in 1954, when cocky young Korea-tested Chinese officers were traveling to Moscow for sophisticated staff training, the prickly contradictions between old guerrilla concepts and modern mechanized aspirations had to be resolved. An attempt was made to end the divorce of the party-army command from its brightest officers and of the peasant farmers from the peasant soldiers. Finally, in the last few years Marshal Lin has reorganized the standing army along the new Soviet and US "pentomic" lines – smaller, more compact, higher fire-powered, "composite" divisions, consisting of five specialized units apiece.

In blueprint the People's Liberation Army is now prepared for the eventual use of atomic weapons. In

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fact, however, an authoritative 1960 evaluation by the Institute of Strategic Studies in London indicates that of 100-115 infantry divisions, only three are armored and two airborne. According to Marshal Lin, moreover, the 2.5 million man Army is supported by only a 75,000 man Air Force and a 66,000 man Navy. Still, as the West discovered in Korea, all this is a far cry from the 19th Century image of comic armies carrying umbrellas and beating gongs while their leaders adjust victory over teacups.

To assure that this increasingly professional force remained under party control, the Politburo imposed its first thought-control and rectification campaign on the Army in 1954. All the machinery of indoctrination, self-criticism, surveillance, screenings, personal denunciation and demotions rolled ponderously and assuredly into action. Teams of specially-trained commissars descended on Army barracks and reservations. The familiar "unity-criticism-unity" questionings were staged. The party sins of warlordism, commandism, bureaucraticism, "excessive democracy" and the like were uncovered. *The Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* were simplified and distributed in abridged form for compulsory study. Serious offenders found themselves engaged in "glorious reproductive work in the frontier regions."

Then there was a lull until 1956, when the Central Committee, angrily conscious of the continued development of "an officer class," ordered a new course in political indoctrination. Officers of the rank of major and above were ordered, in off-duty time, to take a five-year course in Chinese and Communist history, party principles and dialectic materialism. Promotion, it was made clear, was dependent on indoctrination response. "Some veterans and dependents," the *People's Daily* warned at this time, referring to demobilization problems, "have not made a good exhibition of themselves. They demanded from the State and the masses special care, which is unreasonable. Some veterans suited for work in rural areas do not wish to go there, and they lose the respect of the people and their own glory."

The advent of the rural communes in April, 1958, precipitated a third massive rectification drive to force the Army to conform to the draconic discipline of the new society, and to unite officers and men with the inchoate militia under the slogan, "Everyone A Soldier." This provoked the Army's first emergence as an entity into Politburo politics. In December, 1958, at Wohan the then Defense Minister, Marshal Peng Teh-huai, brought the Army vote onto the side of the "managerial" faction in the Politburo against Mao, Liu Shao-chi and Party Secretary-General Teng Ksiao-ping to compel a slowdown, a "tidying-up" as it was called.

As usual, Mao accepted the reverse with unshaken serenity and deadly patience, awarded the right of succession to his henchman Liu Shao-chi, rallied his forces and then in August, 1959, replaced the unhappy Peng Teh-huai with Marshal Lin, China's leading strategist and a loyal party man. A fourth thought-control crusade began as Marshal Lin laid down the principles of political re-education for the troublesome Army elements in a long article in the *People's Daily* entitled: "Take Giant Strides, Holding High the Red Flag of the Party's General Line and the Military Thinking of Mao Tse-tung." He admitted that there was "a struggle between bourgeois and working-class ideology" in the Army, affecting "many comrades who do not have a high social consciousness." "Some comrades had thought economic construction could be left to civilians, while the Army got on with its training program."

But Army disaffection stubbornly persisted. In April, 1960, Japanese military intelligence authorities, who combine objectivity with excellent information sources inside China, reported that "the West was over-estimating the military might of the Chinese Army, whose training and morale had suffered severely because of diversion to civilian work and agricultural production." According to the New China News Agency in a Peking report, "members of the People's Liberation Army contributed more than 22 million work-days to economic construction and agricultural production in 1961, in accordance with their tradition of taking part in productive labor during the free time between training and military duty. Many officers and men, from generals to privates, drove horses and trucks, worked in the fields along with the peasants in ploughing, sowing and harvesting. Mechanized units of the People's Liberation Army overhauled and repaired farm machinery for the people's communes and trained 12,000 peasants as tractor mechanics."

On the rank-conscious side, impassive generals and commissioned officers of the People's Liberation Army, under party orders, still serve humbly, and one hopes happily, one month each year in the ranks, sharing the private soldiers' tribulations and glories, standing sentry and even, it is said, revelling in the Marxist equality of KP duties. Like the humiliating handyman work on the farms, such obligations seem to sit better with the older generation than with the younger.

The doubts and disharmony still persist. The new "Army Education Regulations" of July, 1961, were another attempt to get the Army back in step; "Professional skill is subordinate to politics, while politics is a guarantee for professional skill." One significant regulation insisted that, "while officers should exercise control over the soldiers, the men should supervise one another." At the end of 1961 the July education regulations were supplemented by "10 principles of Army indoctrination at company level," which again stressed "patience with backward comrades" and "the vital im-

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portance of productive labor in cooperation with our farmers and factory workers."

The party-line press also continued to carry on the struggle. There was, for instance, the recent report of Commissar Lo's solicitude for young Private Ying on night coastguard duty during a thunderstorm. Ying fell into the sea, but "a high sense of responsibility for protecting coastal security enabled him to triumph over the turbulent waves." He crawled back to shore and, "in the torrential rain, Commissar Lo took off his own overcoat and gave it to Ying, observing 'You are soaked to the skin and must feel very cold'."

"Yes," replied Ying, "but I do not mind a bit if I can make sure that my old mother, Chairman Mao and other people in the rear have a successful sleep."

RICHARD HUGHES

WESTERN OIL ROYALTIES HAVE HELPED BUSINESS IN ARABIA

The Slave Trade

London

To most Americans the Slavery Convention now being debated in the United Nations' Social and Economic Council seems more a part of the 19th Century than the 20th. Yet the Convention actually dates only from 1956, and has been made necessary by the startling fact that slavery, far from being a vanishing anachronism, seems to be increasing.

Across great sections of Arabia and Africa, both in fully independent nations and in the protectorates of Western powers, the buying and selling of slaves is a flourishing business. The biggest slave-dealing country is Saudi Arabia, where the government issues official slave-dealing licenses. Saudi Arabia has about half a million slaves, and there is strong evidence to suggest that income from oil royalties – *Western* oil royalties – has helped pay the steadily mounting prices at the slave auctions. In 1947, when oil revenues were beginning to take full economic effect, a woman slave in Saudi Arabia or Kuwait could be bought for anything between $390 and $630. Six years later the French Ambassador to the Saudis reported that a girl of 15 cost as much as $1,100.

The definition of a slave is quite simple: anyone who is owned outright as property. This does not mean that slaves hold exclusive first rank among the world's sufferers. In many instances their condition is no worse than that of the near-slaves produced by debt bondage, servile marriage, serfdom and the sham adoption of children for forced labor. An Anti-Slavery Society observer who visited Kuwait estimates that in the sheik's harems a majority of the female slaves chose slavery voluntarily. For the poverty-stricken *sans culottes* of Arabia, enslavement to a sultan's whims may promise a happier life than enslavement to hunger and disease as a "free" person. In most cases the promise may be fulfilled: many slaves are well-treated, both as valuable property and as status-symbols of their owner.

But there are always some cases where the promise is *not* fulfilled, where hideous cruelties are practiced on humans who, as slaves, have no redress whatever. In Saudi Arabia a 1936 law provides an official to intervene between a badly-treated slave and his master; in fact such intervention is considered unthinkable, especially since a large nucleus of Saudi slave-owners are royal relatives. Slaves caught trying to escape have been flogged to death, or – as happened with three Pakistani slaves of King Saud – publicly executed.

Perhaps the worst aspect of slavery is its treatment of children. In June, 1960, the slavery investigator Lord Maugham told the British House of Lords how Arab slave boys between 12 and 14 were regularly castrated; and how a group of children were seen in Buraimi Oasis, heavily shackled by their ankles. More recently an East African publisher, Sean O'Callaghan, has described his visit to a "slave baby farm" in French Somaliland, where he found in one dormitory a circle of little girls, kneeling in a circle, their bare buttocks red with the weals of a cane. In the next dormitory he found another pathetic little circle, this time of boys – and was horrified to find that they had been castrated. O'Callaghan and other observers have also reported on terrified boy slaves being pawed and fondled by quite obviously homosexual buyers at the Saudi auctions.

If slavery can bring anguish to the young, so it can to the aged. At Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, stand some buildings called Al-Rabatt, or "Alms Houses." Al-Rabatt is really a charity-supported prison for slaves discarded by their masters but legally still slaves. They live on one meal a day and many of them are mothers, separated forever from their enslaved children.

In defense of slavery it has been quite openly said that the majority of slaves are accustomed to their lot.

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They live in societies where physical cruelty and harsh inequalities seem a natural part of life. Many of them have never known what it is like to be free. "The child of slaves," writes Herbert Pritzke, author of *Bedouin Doctor*, "has little or no longing to be free and passes automatically and without suffering into a life of slavery."

Where physical torture is involved, however, this argument is simply irrelevant. I have a photograph of a woman slave who has had an iron shackle passed through the flesh of her arm. It is difficult to see how any combination of *social* circumstances could have mitigated her suffering. The same applies to the examples of human misery that Lord Maugham discovered when he went to the Sahara. Lord Maugham visited the Tuareg, a blue-veiled Arab tribe who keep a Negroid slave sect, the Bellah. Among the Bellah, Maugham found a 16-year old girl who at the age of 12 had been repeatedly raped by her masters. She was later made to leave her child in the desert.

Maugham also found slave boys, aged five to seven, guarding cattle all day long without a meal. By contrast with the well-fed children of the Tuareg, the Bellah children's rounded bellies and fragile limbs showed every sign of severe malnutrition. Most serious of all, the slave children looked frightened and unhappy when their masters approached – although they had been born into slavery and knew no other condition. Maugham's experiences may be exceptional to the Tuareg: Johannes Nicolaisen, an ethnologist who also visited the Tuareg, reported he found their slaves generally well-treated. But it is the minority of cases, the modern day Simon Legrees who abuse their unbridled power, that make the whole slave trade so intolerable.

What can be done? How far is the West responsible? Unfortunately for the Western powers' image as defenders of freedom, neither the United States, nor France, nor for that matter Canada, has joined the Slavery Convention. The United States provisionally signed it, but Congress did not ratify. By contrast, every Communist-bloc member of the UN except Poland has supported the Convention. One argument against supporting it is that slavery is a domestic affair of each nation and is, therefore, not a matter for the UN. In fact, the aspect of the slave traffic which makes for most human suffering is its international nature. Encouraged by rising prices, Saudi slave dealers have spread their nets to Nigeria, Ethiopia, Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Northern Syria. According to unconfirmed reports in the Cairo press, the new African state of Mali has recently – and, to preserve Islam unity, very quietly – accused Saudi Arabia of kidnapping and enslaving Mecca pilgrims.

Child-stealing parties regularly cross the borders between different Arab states; and on several occasions African Muslims, wanting to get to Mecca, have used their wives as Travelers' Checks, exchanging them at Arabian auctions for the fare-money. The individual human tragedies behind this international pattern can be imagined – a bewildered child, kidnapped and taken far from home; a wife torn from her family and made concubine to a stranger.

From the political viewpoint the embarrassing fact is that the United States and Britain are supporting rulers who are notorious slave-owners. Slavery exists in Aden, Kuwait and the Yemen, Muscat, Oman, Qatar and the Sudan. All of these territories are bound, either through the oil contracts, treaty alliances, or aid programs, to the US or Britain. In Oman, Britain is supporting the slave-owning Sultan against the Iman, a challenger to the Sultan's position and a man known locally for his anti-slavery views. And behind the market for slaves in all these countries lies the wealth poured in by the oil companies and by various forms of foreign assistance.

To be fair to the Western governments involved, attempts have been made to curtail the slave trade. For years the British have operated patrols against raiding parties crossing the borders of protectorates. The French have made similar efforts in their African dependencies. But the patrols are few and the distances to be patrolled immense. As long as the West courts the friendship of slave-owning sheiks and sultans as an unconditional mainstay of its Middle Eastern policies, there is little likelihood that slavery in these countries will be much reduced. At present the forces of anti-slavery are confined to a limited objective: obtaining more signatures for the Slavery Convention and then, hopefully, putting teeth into the Convention itself. Even the softest of "teeth," a UN investigating commission, will irritate our embarrassing friends.

Let me finish – rashly – with a prediction. The slave trade will drag on. The US and Britain will continue to subsidize it, as the unfortunate requirement for obtaining Middle Eastern oil and Middle Eastern alliances. And then, suddenly, bewilderingly, the political picture will change, as it is always changing. The revolutions that occurred in Egypt and Iraq will occur again, elsewhere. Already, Egypt has used the slavery issue in its attacks on Saudi Arabia. The Western powers will again be discredited, as the "friends of dictators" and, what is worse, the friends of dictators who lost out. In the United States and Britain thinking people will go into agonies of hindsight; they may start asking whether in fact their governments could have put more pressure on Middle East rulers to ameliorate their regimes, and whether this pressure could have been applied without "playing into the hands of the Russians" or bankrupting oil companies. But by then such questions will be academic. RUPERT WILKINSON

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Slums and Schools—II

by Christopher Jencks

Writing in these pages last week I argued that America is not devoting enough of its resources to educating the poor, and that as a result we are likely to have a growing number of unemployables, with all the personal and social troubles that implies. The main problem, I suggested, is that the slum schools have neither the time, the facilities, the ideology, nor most important of all the teachers to wean their pupils from slum life and provide them with a home away from home. I also outlined a series of reforms, many of which already have the support of educators, which would be comparatively easy to implement if Congress were to take an urgent interest in educating the poor and spend several billion dollars a year on it.

But suppose for a moment that we had nursery schools and kindergartens, that primary schools were open six days a week, 40 or 45 weeks a year, and that after-school programs (and perhaps even dormitories) were available for those whose families weren't interested or sympathetic enough to continue a child's education at home. Suppose too that we had special psychiatric and sociological training programs, along with hardship pay, to get suitable teachers into the slum schools, and that with smaller classes, more preparation periods, and more freedom from bureaucratic supervision we could persuade teachers to stay in slums. Finally, suppose that we made an elaborate effort to show the slum child the real possibilities of middle-class adult life and to persuade him he had a chance to "make it" in this life. What then? Would we sharply reduce the number of students who drop out before graduating? Would we persuade hundreds of thousands more youngsters to seek college scholarships and prepare for the managerial and professional occupations which seem likely to survive automation? I am not sure. More fundamental reforms may be required.

In my observation the most important single factor in shaping an alumnus of a school is neither the physical facilities, the content of the curriculum, the erudition or imagination of the teachers, nor the size of the classes, but the habits and values of the pupil's classmates. Students learn most of what they know informally rather than formally, and they learn from one another rather than from their elders. Their lives are organized not by the official administrative machinery but by the ebb and flow of what sociologists call "the student culture."

If, as often happens in the slums, the school is dominated by the "hoods," it doesn't seem to matter how small the classes are: the most ambitious and often the most gifted students will concentrate their attention on learning how to jump the wires on a car rather than on learning the theory of electromagnetism. If, as may happen in the small town, the school football team is the focus of the whole community's chauvinism – its patriotic representative in competition with neighboring towns – the most talented students will become athletes no matter how many Ph.D.'s the school board hires. And if, as increasingly happens in prosperous suburbs, attending school is mainly a way of getting into a competitive big-name college, the ambitious pupil will become something of an intellectual no matter how dim most of his teachers may be. (Of course every school has individual pupils who defy its norms, who go to Harvard despite attending a "football school." Some conclude from this fact that the school itself makes no difference; that good pupils survive dreary schools and that dreary pupils will be dreary even after leaving a lively school. There is some truth in this "either-or" argument, but not much. Carried to its logical conclusion it suggests that schools should all be abolished, since the clever will educate themselves and the foolish are uneducable.)

If I am right about the importance of the student culture, the quality of education depends largely on the spontaneous interplay of habits, interests and ideals which each group of classmates brings from its homes, partly on the ingenuity of teachers and administrators in controlling this interplay, and hardly at all on the quality of the formal instruction offered by the teachers. It seems to follow, moreover, that if you want to improve the education available to a child from the slums the most important thing to improve is the attitude of his classmates toward adults, toward "brains," and toward work generally.

Slum children come to school with a pattern of habits and values of which even the most tolerant teacher can hardly approve. They are usually obsessed with physical prowess, contemptuous of ideas and books. They are also likely to be infatuated with the outward symbols of success – money, ostentation, and publicity – without any apparent respect for the technical skill and craftsmanship which makes success possible for most people. Perhaps because their parents

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live up neither to lower-class ideals of strength and loyalty nor to middle-class standards of respectability, most slum children regard not only their parents but all adults as knaves and fools.

The only way to keep such a child from growing up into another of the unloveable and unemployable adults he scorns is to make him change in fundamental ways. He will not do this simply because his teachers urge him to do so. The teacher's approval isn't that important to most slum children. The thing that counts – that makes his day-to-day life either tolerable or intolerable – is the opinion of his classmates, and more especially of the popular and omnicompetent children who are the cynosure of all eyes. In effect these children are the teacher's unofficial self-appointed deputies. Even in the best cases, where they have been brought up to share most of her future-oriented "bourgeois" values, they short-circuit many of her efforts. When these young taste-makers and opinion-molders are hostile to the school and the teacher, her hope of converting lower-class pupils to her sedate values is almost nil. To put it another way, a lower-class pupil is unlikely to become middle-class unless he has potential middle-class friends in his class; friends who will support him when his streetcorner playmates make fun of his new respectability.

If I am right about the importance of middle-class students as models, genuine reform of the slum school seems to require radical changes in the school system – and indeed in society itself. Instead of sending thousands of college-trained teachers into the slums as evangelists for middle-class values, we ought presumably to be sending millions of college-bound middle-class students. For by the time the suburban child has grown up and become a teacher it is too late for him (or more often her) to affect the life of a slum child. No amount of formal pedagogic training can compensate for age differences.

Needless to say, very few middle-class parents are radical enough to send their children to slum schools, even as a *sub rosa* "Peace Corps." Most parents have relatively little confidence in their children's capacity to look after themselves, much less to influence others. They certainly are not prepared to believe that their child could have an effect on slum children good enough to offset the bad effect the slum children would have on them. The overt sensuality and violence of America's lower class sub-culture apparently strikes these parents as so appealing (at least to the child within us all) that they assume it will dominate any school in which lower-class and middle-class pupils mix.

All the available evidence suggests that such parents are fundamentally wrong. In socially heterogeneous small town high schools the leaders are, as James Conant discovered to his surprise, almost invariably middle-class children. It is only when the school is almost entirely lower class that the leaders become lower class, and even then, as James Coleman has shown in his brilliant if unreadable book *The Adolescent Society*, middle-class pupils exercise an influence out of proportion to their numbers.

Still, it would be foolish to claim that sending 200 Scarsdale children to a 500-pupil Brooklyn slum school would leave the Scarsdalites untouched. The academic and social tone of the school might become largely suburban, but the native Brooklynites would have some effect, and probably not an effect which most Scarsdale parents would approve. After all, many of them moved from Brooklyn to Scarsdale primarily so their children could attend school in an upper-middle class community free from the "corrupting" influence of slum children. Even those Scarsdalites who are genuinely public spirited, willing to pay higher taxes and often even to give their leisure time to helping the poor, draw the line at sacrificing their children.

The Politics of Social Integration

From a political viewpoint we must admit that social integration will never be achieved by sending middle-class children to previously lower-class schools. What about sending lower-class children to previously middle-class schools?

There are two approaches to integration of this sort. The first is to ignore the suburbs and simply try to improve the social balance of schools within the big urban school districts. A first step is to rescind the rule that children must attend school in their own neighborhood. Instead, children can be allowed to attend any school in the city. The ambitious slum child can then commute to a predominantly middle-class area which offers a good academic program. Since only the proto-respectable child takes advantage of this opportunity, the academic standards and essentially middle-class character of the better schools are not threatened.

Many cities already allow this kind of city-wide choice at the high school level. But this still means that the slum child must spend eight or nine years in neighborhood schools with other slum children. After this experience he is usually so hostile to education that he picks the nearest (and worst) high school and drops out at 16. Serious efforts to eliminate the slum school must therefore include elementary schools. This is politically difficult, but not impossible.

Open registration would, of course, be a great asset to the minority of slum children and parents who know they want to enter the middle-class world, and see that the schools are the gateway. But what of the majority who are not interested enough in education to commute half an hour a day to another neighborhood, or who

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fear (often rightly) that they would be out of place and miserable in a middle-class school? Under open registration such children will continue to attend nearby schools – stagnant backwaters which ultimately drain back into the reservoir of misery from which they arise, rather than into the main stream of American life. If a real assault is to be made on the slums, these schools must surely be eliminated, either by redrawing neighborhood lines so that every school is socially heterogeneous or, where this is impossible, by simply closing down slum schools and sending their pupils by bus to other neighborhoods.

The difficulty in this scheme, over the long run, is that it may simply accelerate the flight of the middle classes to suburbia. Thus in New York the NAACP found that some white neighborhoods were so decimated that they actually had empty classrooms. Since Negro slums were desperately overcrowded, the NAACP urged that Negro pupils be reassigned to the white schools. This was done, and no immediate trouble was reported. But may not the ultimate result be to drive even more white parents to suburbia, creating what is in effect a Negro school in a white neighborhood?

If city-wide integration is going to have this effect, the only answer is to open suburban schools to slum children. Given the present distribution of political power this cannot be done on a compulsory basis. But much might be done voluntarily. The big problem is who will pay the bills.

In the days when Evanston High School admitted Chicago students, for example, Chicago parents naturally had to pay a substantial tuition charge in lieu of taxes, and this kept out all children from really bad neighborhoods. The Chicago School Board could not possibly have offered scholarships to support slum children at Evanston, because this would have been an official confession of what everybody knew but nobody admitted, namely that it was next to impossible to get a decent education in the Chicago public schools. The state legislature could perhaps have provided the scholarships without risking its political neck, but in Illinois as elsewhere the state legislature is predominantly rural and has little interest in a scheme which would barely touch the countryside. The only way to finance poor applicants would therefore have been for the Federal government to provide the scholarships.

Yet what if the Congress had voted such scholarships? Would anybody have used them? How many youngsters would be willing or able to adapt themselves to Evanston High School after a South Side elementary school? And even if real guts were put in the scheme by opening elementary schools to outsiders too, how many children from lower-class homes would be adaptable, even at the age of six? Nobody knows. But a pilot program, with scholarships financed by a big foundation in cooperation with a few forward-looking suburbs, might be worthwhile.

Still another way to help poor children get a decent education is to work through the private rather than the public system. To those who see private schools merely as exclusive clubs which segregate the rich from the rest, this will seem an incredible suggestion. But the fact is that in many cities private schools are more classless than their public competitors. This is because most private schools are run by the Catholic Church – one of the few organizations in America which cuts across class lines. (Of course the class heterogeneity of the parochial school is a matter of logistics as well as ideology: except in heavily Catholic areas the parochial school must, in order to reach an efficient size, include a wide variety of neighborhoods.)

There is no good reason why the Catholics should be the only private group interested in educating the poor. The Ford Foundation has been spending millions of dollars a year to support experiments in public slum school. Yet none of the schools being helped by the Ford program is in any genuine sense a comprehensive school. None has what seems to me the most essential ingredient of education: a leaven of middle-class children from education-conscious homes. Would it not be worthwhile to establish at least one school, outside the public system, which tried to attract both middle-class and lower-class children?

But suppose the experiment worked. No private foundation can afford to provide scholarships to the millions of children who ought to be gotten out of the slums. Such scholarships would have to come from public funds, and for the political reasons already mentioned in connection with subsidizing children who want to attend suburban schools, public funds in this case would have to mean federal funds. Could Congress be persuaded to promote private education at the expense of public? Today the answer is certainly "No." The free public school is a sacred cow in America, and anything which threatens it is regarded as somehow undemocratic. This is true despite the fact that we are nominally committed to private enterprise, competition, and pluralism.

Are Public Schools "Democratic"?

In the years ahead, however, there may be a growing recognition that the traditional arguments for public and against private schools have become irrelevant. We no longer live in small towns, where the free public school embraced the children of rich and poor alike and became an important (if often only partially effective) egalitarian force. Today we live in big cities and suburbs, where the neighborhood school is as much a bastion of ethnic and economic privilege as most pri-

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vate schools. A school which recruits only from Lincoln, Mass., Bronxville, N. Y., or Oak Park, Ill., is in many respects less democratic than one which, like Phillips Andover, recruits from every neighborhood where it can arouse interest in a scholarship.

Yet even if Congress accepted these arguments, how could it help poor parents pay private school tuition without getting involved in an explosive church-state dispute? Just before resigning from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Secretary Abraham Ribicoff suggested that Congress might provide tax credits to parents paying private school tuition. Since tax deductions for gifts to private schools (and churches) are already legal, the tax credit would raise no new constitutional issues. As Ribicoff envisioned the scheme, Congress would vote a $10 or $20 per pupil annual subsidy to the states for public education, and would give every parent paying private tuition a $10 or $20 rebate on his income tax. If, as seems likely, $10 or $20 per pupil expanded over the years to $100 or $200, private schools would get a real boost. If state legislatures followed the Federal example, private enrollment would undoubtedly skyrocket.

But these gains would be almost exclusively among the middle classes. Few slum residents understand taxes, and even fewer pay enough to finance private education out of rebates. If slum children are to attend private schools they must be given scholarships which pay the full cost of their education. Indeed, if any substantial number are to attend private schools (or even quasi-public suburban schools), scholarships will have to cover not only tuition but $10 or $20 a month for books, clothes, and entertainment. Without such money the slum child will be unwilling to venture into the affluent middle-class world. Such scholarships, if based on need rather than on the religious affiliation (or lack of it) of the school at which they were used, would not appear to create an "establishment of religion."

The Tragedy of the Slums

I have outlined four approaches to providing slum children with the middle class friends they must have if they are to acquire middle-class mores and join the prosperous American majority. We could send middle-class children to slum schools; we could abolish slum schools and distribute their pupils among middle-class schools in the city; we could open suburban schools to outsiders and provide scholarships to pay the bills; or we could set up private schools with generous scholarship funds. Are we likely to do any of these things? No realist, familiar with the mood of either Congress or the country, can really think we will. The haves are far too complacent, and the have-nots far too wretched, for radical educational reform to appear likely.

What is really likely to happen? My guess is that in the short run things will go on about the way they have since 1945. The rural poor will keep pouring into the cities for at least another generation, by the end of which time most subsistence farmers will probably have disappeared. Meanwhile, the slum schools will siphon off the more educable children into the suburbs, while the majority remain untouched. This majority will become increasingly unemployable, and will live more and more by the grace of public agencies. Unemployment and relief benefits will expand as politicians bid for restless votes, and so too will subsidized public housing and public hospitals. The time may even come when, from a physical viewpoint, people can live fairly tolerably without being employed.

But psychologically the situation will grow more and more intolerable. The unemployed will be more and more alienated from society, not only because they feel useless but because they will be unable to participate in an increasingly middle-brow culture shaped by the fact that more and more people hold complex professional and managerial jobs. One of the ironies of automation and bureaucratization is that while many people become unemployable, the rest devote more and more of their time and interest to their work. As jobs become increasingly professionalized, occupation may even supercede religion, income and ethnic ties as the chief shaper of an American's sub-culture. The man who has no occupation, or who moves rapidly from one to another, may become a man without an identity.

What will happen to these literal "non-entities"? Conservatives like James Conant speak of "social dynamite" building up in the slums. But despite Marxist hopes this probably does not mean that the slums contain the seeds of revolution. The violence and resentment of the poor, unlike that of people living outwardly respectable lives, is easily directed against their children and neighbors. As a result they tend to remain apolitical. Radicals of the Left and Right, who urge the destruction of either the existing American social order or of alleged foreign enemies, seem to arouse little enthusiasm in the slums. So long as this continues – so long as the poor vent their spleen mainly on one another rather than on the rich – they will remain a threat only to middle-class consciences, not to the economic and social fabric of middle-class life.

Is there any way out? Not if we wait for middle-class social critics and do-gooders like myself to solve the problem. In the last analysis the poor, like everyone else, must solve their own problems. The poor today have only one source of power: the voting machine. The critical problem is therefore to devise a political program which will at once bring the poor to the polls and yet, when implemented, keep them off the streets.

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Alvin H. Hansen

Deficits and Economic Growth

Professor Hansen takes issue with the suggestion that our growth rate suffers from insufficient savings, and argues that increasing consumption will stimulate investment.

In his article in the August 27 issue of this journal, Matthew J. Kust raises once again the venerable controversy concerning the relationship between investment and savings. He contends that our economy does not generate sufficient savings to provide the necessary investment for an adequate rate of growth. Yet as I have sought to explain in *A Guide to Keynes* and other works, this issue can never be settled by statistics. This is so for the simple reason that investment and savings *ex post* – that is to say, when one looks back on any particular year or other economic period – are seen to be equal to each other. The argument therefore hinges not on statistics but on a theoretical analysis of the general economic situation in which this investment and saving occurred.

Mr. Kust strongly suggests the untenable view that because investment has been running at an unduly low rate in the United States in recent years, this fact of itself proves that consumption was too high and the propensity to save was too low. The truth is, however, that the causal forces at work must be viewed *ex ante*, not *ex post*. If *ex ante* investment falls below *ex ante* saving the economy will be depressed. In the five fiscal years 1958-62 inclusive, investment and saving were equated, *ex post*, at the low level of $70 billion per year.

Every economist will, I think, agree that private investment is currently far too low if appropriate account is taken of the manner in which our economy disposes of a full employment GNP between saving and consumption. The manner in which this disposal is made depends upon personal habits, institutional arrangements such as private pension funds, government trust funds, a progressive tax system, etc. The volume of gross saving, private and public, which it appears that our economy would generate at full employment is around $95 billion, assuming no change in our federal tax-expenditure set-up. Gross private investment would need to rise by over $20 billion to absorb this flow of saving, including the funds which a full employment federal surplus would, under these circumstances, pour into the investment market via debt retirement.

Mr. Kust fails to discuss the enormously important matter of investment outlets. Indeed, almost everyone who compares the postwar investment behavior of Western Europe with the United States overlooks this highly relevant matter. No one will deny, I believe, that Western Europe had, and still has, a far greater back-log of investment to catch up on than we did and do. Europe in recent years has, moreover, for the first time reached a standard of living high enough to furnish mass markets for durable consumer goods. This we reached a long time ago, and as a result our consumers' durable market is primarily a replacement market. Since 1957 the sale of durable consumer goods has moved on a flat plateau in the US.

Mr. Kust tells us that 60 percent of our industrial equipment is over 10 years old, Germany's 55 percent, Italy 56 percent and England 59 percent. This is not to be wondered at, considering the vast destruction of European capital caused by the war. It does not necessarily mean that our equipment is more obsolete in the aggregate. It only emphasizes the fact that they have been filling a big back-log of replacement and reconstruction which has given them vast investment outlets.

Low wages did indeed facilitate rapid recovery in Germany so long as the job of capital reconstruction was the pressing one. But this does not prove that low wages would also be good for Germany from here out. Indirect taxes also facilitated a rapid reconstruction, but this may not prove appropriate policy in the future. I am not adverse to considering the merits of a sales tax. But this is a matter which has to be considered in the light of the special circumstances confronting a country.

If we are to reach full employment in the US we have to make a better adjustment of *ex ante* investment to *ex ante* saving. The investment tax credit would help, and more generous accelerated depreciation would help. But more investment is no good and indeed could not be economically justified unless we achieve a higher rate of consumer demand. Higher investment, via the multiplier effect, will itself stimulate consumer demand. But we have enough present knowledge from past experience of economic relationships to feel pretty certain that we also need a direct stimulus to consumption via a cut in the first bracket income tax rate. And out of a full-employment GNP we may reasonably expect to save and to invest far more than the $70 billion saved and invested in the five fiscal years 1958-1962.

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The Common Market and COMECON

by Alec Nove

"The Common Market – the state-monopolistic union of finance-oligarchy – has become an economic and political reality." This phrase is taken from the opening of an enormously long series of "theses" on the Market published in *Pravda* on August 26. Together with Khrushchev's own signed article in the Prague-published "Problems of Peace and Socialism," these theses represent a new stage in Soviet thinking on capitalism. The cited phrase sets the tone and provides an explanation of the need to reconsider Soviet attitudes. From the Soviet point of view the Common Market is an indesirable development. But it is a fact, and adjustment must be made to it.

There is, first, the new economic problem posed by the need to preserve, and if possible enlarge, Soviet economic relations with Western Europe. Soviet and satellite trade with Western Europe has in fact been rapidly increasing in recent years, and there are fears that, to quote the theses again, "integration . . . will lead to an attempt by Imperialism to limit the freedom of individual countries in trading with the USSR and other socialist states."

Secondly, there is the ideological problem of reconciling the new developments with the Marxist-Leninist tradition that there are insuperable contradictions dividing the nation-states of the capialist world.

Thirdly, the creation of the Common Market creates propaganda opportunities in non-Market countries which the various Soviet statements seek to exploit.

Finally, the consolidation of the West has concentrated Soviet attention on the need to achieve more effective integration within their own bloc. This need is both economic and ideological. If the growth of the Market means less trade with the Soviet bloc, the bloc will have to make up for this intramurally. At the same time it is ideologically and politically intolerable that the "capitalists" should make greater advances toward economic integration than the socialist states.

To show that the Common Market, though a new element in the world situation, nonetheless conforms to Leninist prognostications, the authors of the Soviet theses used a hitherto obscure saying of Lenin's as a keynote: "Of course [wrote Lenin] it is possible that there will be *temporary* agreements between capitalists and between the powers. In this sense a United States of Europe is possible, in the form of an agreement between European capitalists. . . . For what? Only for the joint suppression of socialism, for the joint robber exploitation of colonies."

Having thus established, with the help of their card-index of Leninist quotations, the orthodoxy of the argument, the authors of the theses proceed to make the point that "monopoly-capitalism is attempting to reconcile private capitalism with the fact that the forces of production have outgrown state boundaries," that technical progress and mass production require much larger markets. They go on to reassert the inevitable sharpening of the contradictions of capitalism, and argue that the Common Market will give these contradictions a powerful impetus.

The arguments advanced contain a mixture of fact and fiction, of analysis and propaganda phrases. The Common Market is alleged to be evil because it strengthens international cartels and facilitates a so-called offensive against the working-class, small shopkeepers and peasants, because it is a "holy alliance" against socialism, because it is intended to strengthen NATO and the Western side in the cold war. "The mechanism of the Common Market becomes a means of coordinating the subversive strategy and policy of American-European reaction." But these efforts are apparently doomed to failure. The Soviet document takes comfort in listing the (genuine) difficulties which face Great Britain and other doubtful or doubting applicants. Trouble is also expected in the relations of America with Europe. "The American ruling circles did not foresee all the consequences of the Common Market which was created with their active participation," and American balance-of-payments difficulties and increased competition from Europe are cited as evidence. "The United States regards West European integration both as a political necessity and as a menace to itself." Finally, the paradoxical but comforting conclusion is reached that the effect in the end will be to deepen the split within the Western world.

The theses repeat Khrushchev's views, expressed on the occasion of the visit of the Mali delegation last May, concerning the threat which the Common Market is said to pose to the interests of underdeveloped countries. Association with the Common Market would lead, so the theses assert, to the countries concerned

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remaining "agrarian and raw-material-providing dependencies," while those who will not be associates will suffer loss of markets due to discriminatory tariffs.

It will be seen from the above summary that the official theses are bitterly hostile in tone. This is in line with past declarations and is scarcely surprising. The consolidation of Western Europe is indeed intended to strengthen NATO and the Western alliance in general. Its political motivation is indeed strongly anti-Communist. The leaders of the Common Market countries, above all Adenauer and de Gaulle, have shown a degree of intransigence toward the Soviets, and anything which strengthens their influence must seem highly undesirable from Moscow's point of view.

Economically, too, the creation of the Common Market presents some obvious disadvantages to the Communist bloc. At present the USSR and several of its principal allies have a large and expanding trade with a number of West European countries. Sales to West Germany, Italy and Great Britain are essential both to pay for Western machinery and know-how and to buy tropical raw materials. (The large Soviet purchases of Malayan rubber are, for example, paid for in British sterling, earned from trade with Great Britain.) If the Common Market were to cover all the NATO countries in Europe, Soviet bloc exports might well be adversely affected. The USSR would probably find it harder to sell oil to Italy, Poland would have trouble selling foodstuffs to Great Britain, Czech manufacturers would be at a disadvantage in many of their best markets, and so on. Soviet officials therefore naturally emphasize the advantages which accrue to individual NATO countries from East-West trade. Such emphasis is not intended so much to sow Western discord as simply to preserve as far as possible Soviet markets, the loss of which would be a blow to the bloc.

Is the East's Loss the West's Gain?

The bloc's loss of markets is by no means necessarily a ground for rejoicing, even from a narrowly Cold-War standpoint. The Soviet theses proclaim that the USSR and its allies are strong enough to withstand, without serious consequences, any restrictions on trade which the West may impose. While this statement no doubt protests too much, it seems to me that some Western commentators, including Harry Schwartz in the September 2 *New York Times*, have overemphasized the damage which the Common Market is likely to cause the bloc. The big losers will be those (like the Poles) for whom Western trade has been a prop to autonomy, and for whom a loss of Western markets will mean greater dependence on the bloc and especially on the USSR.

Nevertheless, it is clear enough that any weakening of the Common Market is regarded as good from the

"Thanks. I was anxious for your opinion."

Soviet point of view. Any suitable "contradictions," whether based on economic competition, nationalist sentiment, underdeveloped countries' fears, or anything else, are to be exploited. Yet at the same time the Soviet leadership recognizes that the Common Market is a fact. Khrushchev is cited as having written in his article that "it is ill-advised and short-sighted to ignore the conceptions and actions of the leaders of European integration." Consequently, though hostile statements are continuing, a *modus vivendi* is also to be sought. This is not a question of the USSR abandoning its hostile attitude to many if not most aspects of the Common Market, but rather recognizing that so long as the decisions affecting European trade are being taken in Brussels, the USSR and the economic association of the Soviet bloc states (COMECON) will have perforce to deal with Brussels.

A decision to this effect must have been taken in the highest quarters, and *Pravda* cited the following sentence from Khrushchev's article: "The possibility exists of economic collaboration and peaceful economic competition not only between individual states . . . but also between economic associations." This need not imply any weakening of Soviet anti-Market propaganda. Denunciation and offers of collaboration may well continue to coexist, and this is neither abnormal nor evidence of any special duplicity: the Communist bloc

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must, after all, do the best it can with a bad job.

Among immediate Soviet proposals is one for calling an international conference on trade, at which we may expect strong advocacy of increased East-West trade, insistence on no discrimination, demands for most-favored-nation (MFN) treatment for Soviet goods. In the recent past many Western countries have refused MFN to Communist bloc countries, on the grounds that under a state monopoly no real reciprocity can exist, as the state decides what to buy and from whom. The USSR adopted in 1961 a new customs tariff, under which additional duties may be imposed on goods originating in countries which "discriminate" against Soviet goods – and many do. We may find this provision being used as a bargaining counter, as part of an effort to keep markets open. We may also expect proposals from COMECON addressed to the Common Market organization, perhaps suggesting some code of trading practices designed to minimize the discriminatory effects of Western integration.

The Sin of Localism

Finally, the USSR and its allies are actively reviewing and strengthening their own arrangements for economic collaboration. There are several reasons for this, apart from the obvious and immediate need to "insure" against loss of trade with Common Market countries. The COMECON system has not been working satisfactorily. Despite many meetings of a large number of committees, and a great deal of talk about coordinating plans, in practice each country of the Soviet bloc has very largely planned its own output and investment programs in isolation. Foreign trade, even with other Soviet bloc countries, was and is the responsibility of an official ministry in each of the countries, and productive enterprises and wholesalers lack any direct contact with their potential foreign customers. They cannot study the needs of other "Socialist" countries, nor send salesmen or buyers, without first going through a most elaborate bureaucratic procedure. Then too, while there has been no lack of decisions and declarations concerning a "socialist division of labor" and the necessity of rational specialization, politically controlled pricing and exchange rates have made rational cost comparisons virtually impossible.

Bloc trade has been increasing. But the centralization of all major (and many minor) economic decisions in the top political leadership of each country remains an obstacle to rapid growth. Politicians determine the so-called "material balances," *i.e.*, the quantities of materials and finished products which are to be produced and used in the coming year. They also control the longer-term production plans, and the investment projects which are required to bring them to fruition. Since trade relations between the separate countries are to a great extent predetermined by these output and investment plans, effective coordination in the Eastern bloc can be achieved only at the highest political level, *i.e.*, in the top party leadership. Below that level the hierarchical lines lead to the central authorities of each separate country, and this provides a built-in tendency toward isolationism.

The same tendency exists, of course, even within the separate economic regions of the USSR itself, and is repeatedly denounced under the name of *mestnichestro*, or "localism." But in the USSR it is combated by centralizing political authority, while within the Soviet bloc such authority is lacking. The officials and committees of COMECON have so far lacked political power, and since Stalin's death the USSR has been unable to impose a coordinated plan from above.

In this respect the position of the smaller countries of the bloc is paradoxical. On the one hand, they have won themselves greater autonomy. On the other, they depend on foreign trade to a much greater extent than the USSR, and have suffered more serious economic loss from the lack of rational specialization within the bloc. This is why one finds Poland, the most independent member of the bloc, pressing for more effective integration.

Last June there was a meeting of the party secretaries and heads of government of COMECON members (which now include Mongolia but still exclude China, North Korea and North Vietnam). A very verbose statement was issued, full of pious generalities, but also promising action. Important changes are evidently intended. Joint output planning to 1965 and down to 1980, joint material balances, closer coordination of investment plans to avoid duplicating productive capacity, careful study of comparative advantages, are said to be under way. The top executive body of COMECON is being strengthened, and each country is apparently appointing its senior "economics minister" to this body. Novikov, for example, who held the rank of Soviet vice premier, has resigned his Gosplan post and has been drafted to COMECON. His Polish opposite number has done the same.

These are signs of serious intentions. Yet in the absence of a supreme *political* authority for the COMECON countries, one may be permitted a degree of cautious skepticism. Even in the Western countries the nature of the system ensures many deviations from economic rationality, especially in the field of international trade. So far the Communist system seems to have created even more obstacles to international collaboration. Whether this trend is really inherent in their system, or whether it can be reversed by the determined efforts of COMECON planners, the next few years will show.

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Since the 26th of July

by Tad Szulc

Few events in contemporary history have generated as many heated controversies and emotional outbursts translated into cascades of the written word as the Cuban Revolution of 1959 and its subsequent and bewildering trajectory. In less than four years since Fidel Castro won power in Cuba, at least fifteen full-length books on him and his revolution have been published in the United States in addition to uncounted scores of pamphlets and magazine and newspaper articles. Other books, pamphlets and articles have appeared throughout Europe and Latin America, stressing the worldwide interest in the Cuban phenomenon.

Castro's Revolution
Myths and Realities
by Theodore Draper
(Praeger; $4.50)

This impressive outpouring of literature on the captivating Cuban subject has run the full gamut from praising Castro as a savior of Latin America to damning him as a blood-thirsty Communist dictator. Though many of the authors have switched horses in midstream, changing their early admiration into abhorrence – as in the case of *The Chicago Tribune's* Jules Dubois, who produced a breathlessly fawning profile of Castro right after the revolution and has been trying hard to live it down ever since – the common denominator among most of these offerings is their confused, emotion-packed thinking and judgment, some of it partisan and some just plain innocent.

These printed views on Castro and his revolution range from the highly intellectualized and frankly subjective approval sounded by the French philosophers Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir as well as by the late C. Wright Mills, to the book by Nathaniel Weyl dedicated to the proposition that Castro was a Communist and Moscow agent from the cradle. The total impact of most of these writings has been to create more myths than truths and more confusion than reality, wrapping Castro and Cuba in a thick mantle of misunderstandings and contradictions. A most useful guide through the morass of these concepts and misconceptions about Castro's Cuba is Theodore Draper's new book.

Mr. Draper, who is a specialist on Soviet and Communist affairs, has approached his task of dissecting the revolution and particularly its political and ideological aspects with considerable analytical calm, but not without displaying his talents for sharp-honed polemics. He uses this gift – which, incidentally, makes his book quite readable despite its wealth of quotations and references to varied source material – principally to slash through the many myths that have gathered like cobwebs around the Cuban revolution.

The three main myths, which Mr. Draper disposes of in the three sections of his book and in a special appendix on last March's "Affaire Escalante," are that the Castro revolution was a "peasant revolution," that it was the United States that pushed it towards Communism, and that Castro either is an orthodox Moscow Communist or not really a Communist (depending on the point of view).

On the first point, which is indeed vital for the understanding not only of the Cuban events but of the whole revolutionary methodology in Latin America, Mr. Draper goes to great pains to demonstrate that which should be obvious to anyone who has even casually followed the history of Castro's rise to power and is not a mere receptacle for Havana slogans.

Tracing the history of Castro's "26th of July Movement," both in Sierra Maestra and in the urban underground activities, Mr. Draper emphasizes that the revolution was a bourgeois undertaking with ostentatiously liberal-democratic overtones that failed to attract for a long time either the Cuban peasant mass or even the Popular Socialist Party (Communist). This, of course, was a classical situation in normal revolutionary terms (were not Lenin and Trotsky bourgeois revolutionaries, too?) and there is no good reason why matters should have been different in Cuba. Mr. Draper does not mention it, but as late as May, 1959, Chile's Luis Corvalan, one of the leading Latin American Communists, publicly referred to the Castro movement as a "bourgeois progressive" entity, worthy of Communist sympathies.

Mr. Draper goes on to stress that even at the end of the Sierra Maestra campaign, the Castro fighting force was "so minute that it hardly deserves to be called an army, let alone a 'peasant army,' and even the influx of the last four or five months failed to give it anything like a mass character."

In what is a useful reminder to those who, like Cuba's Che Guevara (though often for different reasons), speak of approaching peasant-proletarian revolutions in Latin America, Mr. Draper remarks that "in any case, the character of an army is established by its leadership and cadres, which remained almost exclusively middle class throughout, and not by its common soldiers – or every army in the world would similarly be an army of the peasantry and proletariat."

That such Castro apologists as Sartre and Mills have chosen to describe the Cuban revolution as a "peasant" movement has, in Mr. Draper's opinion, "the purpose of concealing the fact that the Cuban revolution was essentially a middle-class revolution that has been used to destroy the middle class."

The second myth that comes under Mr. Draper's scalpel is really the double myth that Castro has been true to his original ideals and that it was Washington's policies that propelled him to-

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The Philanderer

I

Especially He loves
His space and the parochial darkness,
They are his family, from them grow his kind:
Idols with many arms, and suns that fathered
The earth, among his many mirrors, and some
That do not break:
Rain kept sacred by faithful summer grasses,
Fat Buddha and lean Christ, bull and ram,
Horns thrusting up his temple and cathedral,
Mirrors, but he is beyond such vanities.
He is the power to love. Easy to outlive
The moment's death having him on your knees;
Grunting and warm he prefers wild positions:
He mouths the moon and sun, brings his body
Into insects that receive him beneath stone,
Into fish that leap as he chases,
Or silent stones that receive his silence.
Chivalrous and polite the dead take
His caress, and the sea rolling under him
Takes his fish as payment and his heaps of shells.

II

He is animal,
His tail drags uncomfortably, he trifles
With the suck of bees and lovers, so simple
With commonplace tongues, his eyes ripple
Melancholy iron and carefree tin,
His thighs are raw from rubbing, white as pine;
He can wing an eagle off a hare's spine,
Crouch with the Sphinx, make bishops vow
In chilly chapels a wafer in their mouths,
Old men cry out his passage through their bowels;
He throws the wind arch-backed on the highway,
Lures the cat into moonlit alleys,
Mountains and fields with wild strawberries.
His name has no meaning: God, Dios, the Lord,
Owner of the land, he never said a word
Or took the power of death: the inconspicuous
Plunge from air into the sea he gave to us, –
Winds that wear away our towns as winds must.

II

No word, none of these, no name, "Red Worm, Snake!"
What name makes you leave your hiding place?
Philanderer,
Run off, – with a good name, for a God's embrace
Is always fruitful, your green ghost leaves
A world behind. Friend, – man, a wooden sleeve,
Nails through his hands, out-stands all trees;
The seed swells, the fruit drops its blood
Down the branches and wrists of a living God.

STANLEY MOSS

ward Communism. Mr. Draper's overall conclusion is that "Castro promised one kind of revolution and made another." He writes that "the revolution Castro promised was unquestionably betrayed."

Mr. Draper contends – and I, having watched the development of the revolutionary process in Cuba as a Havana-based correspondent, must agree with him – that "only the ingenuous can still believe that Fidel Castro walked into a Communist trap or that he gave up the democratic road because the US did not give him enough support in his early months in power."

He writes that "the Communists and Fidel walked toward each other, each with his eyes open, each filling a need in the other" and he adds that "the 'trap theory' attributes a gullibility to Fidel which is again hardly fair to him." In his opinion, then, the drift toward Communism can be explained "in the inner life and dynamism of *Fidelismo*" and, specifically, by the fact that "the ideological and organizational vacuum of *Fidelismo* has been filled by Communism which, in turn, has been given a new confidence and impetus by *Fidelismo*."

The result of the "fusion," or inevitable marriage, is that Castro "represents a Cuban variant in the Communist family of revolutions," Mr. Draper writes. And this, indeed, is the main point of the Draper book, setting to rest the myths that he is either a Moscow puppet or just a starry-eyed revolutionary who does not really know what Communism is and may well shed it tomorrow.

To recognize Castro's probably indissoluble marriage to Communism and the Soviet system is an essential factor in judging the present and the future march of Cuban affairs, even if – as Draper remarks – Cuban Communism is of a new and peculiar brand and if "henceforth, Communism in Cuba will be what [Castro] says it is."

The truth of this statement is, in fact, even greater than Mr. Draper seemed to realize when he wrote these words last April in a special appendix on the Escalante episode, which was the public attack by Castro on the "old line" Communists who had briefly succeeded in depriving him and his Sierra companies of day-to-day control over the Revolution.

Thus, Mr. Draper pointed out that in denouncing the "old" Communists, Castro had not broken with Communism but, instead, made himself into a super-oracle of Cuban Communism. This, of course, is true, but Mr. Draper in a way underestimated Castro in suggesting that the only way out for Cuba and her chaotic condition is to adopt "a line of temporary concessions and compromises, of sweet reasonableness instead of extreme rigidity, of maximum maneuverability, even in relations with the US." He foresaw, in fact, that Castro may be even executing a classical Communist "turn to the right."

But the events in the subsequent months have shown that Castro, far from turning to the right, has not only maintained but increased his "extreme

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rigidity" in dealing with the Cuban society as well as with the outside world, both East and West.

Domestically, controls have been tightened both for economic and ideological reasons, with the new policy of switching from cooperatives to collectives in sugar and other farm activities. Externally, Castro has stepped up his anti-United States campaigns with his daily charges of alleged violations of his air and sea space by American aircraft and naval units. And in relation to Moscow, Castro has kept up his private concepts of how Communism should be made to function, forcing the Soviet Union into inaugurating since July a crash program of massive economic and technical assistance to Cuba to avoid a breakdown that would be vastly embarrassing to the world Communist movement.

But aside from the peculiar and unpredictable turns and variants of the Castro brand of Communism, Mr. Draper's basic thesis about Castro seems correct when he writes that "those who take him out of that [Communist] family misconstrue his fundamental position, on which he himself insists, and those who make him identical with every other member of that family miscalculate the novelties and complexities of his position."

Brooks as a Biographer

by Leon Edel

Ever since the completion, more than a decade ago, of his five-volume "history of the writer in America," to which he gave the title of *Makers and Finders*, Van Wyck Brooks has continued to put forth with exemplary industry a book a year – continued to write about the makers and finders in our national life. His present series of biographical essays offers portraits of eight figures, seven men and one woman. Three of these are based on new materials – the studies of Ernest Fenollosa, the historian of Japanese art and recorder of the Noh plays; Fanny Wright, the English bluestocking who bought slaves in order to educate them to freedom; and Randolph Bourne, the essayist and pacifist of the First World War. The remaining five are drawn from existing sources: George Catlin, the painter of Indians; John Lloyd Stephens, the explorer of Mayan cities; Charles Wilkes, discoverer of the seventh continent; Charles Godfrey Leland, the Philadelphia bohemian who chronicled gypsy folk-lore. There is also a brief anecdotal sketch of the painter Maurice Prendergast.

Fenollosa and His Circle
with Other Essays in Biography
by Van Wyck Brooks
(Dutton; $5)

Of the three essays derived from new materials, the studies of Fanny Wright and Randolph Bourne represent, it seems to me, Mr. Brooks' art of biography at its best. A child of the enlightenment, Fanny Wright was a friend of Lafayette, Jefferson, Jeremy Bentham. She had no hesitation in joining the ranks of slave-holders in America: a woman with a complacent sense of her own high-mindedness, she felt that this was one way of liberating them: and having such a sense, she was doomed to endless personal involvements. Mr. Brooks tells the story of her vigorous career as abolitionist and suffragette with a light and happy touch, capturing through her the spirit of the early utopianism that flourished on the as-yet-undedicated continent.

The essay on Bourne draws on personal memories as well as documents. Bourne was physically dwarfed and misshapen; but intellectually he was a free spirit. An early contributor to *The New Republic*, he was a romantic with a large sense of reality; and when he refused to be drawn into the passions of the 1914-1918 war, all doors were closed to him. Mr. Brooks paints his portrait with firm, authoritative strokes. His tragedy would seem to have been that he was a cosmopolite of the spirit, hemmed in by the provincialism of his fellow-intellectuals.

By comparison the essay on Fenollosa suffers from a failure in delineation. The art historian has been described as "shadowy," and while Mr. Brooks chronicles his achievements, he does little to sharpen his image. He was originally an economist and political scientist, and his transformation is not explained. Nor are those elements in his character which ultimately made him into a complex and mystical kind of Bernard Berenson in Japan, a tireless piercer of ancient doors in a search for ancient things. But the essay is a highly useful piece of historical writing – the notes, one might say, for a study of America's long flirtation with the culture of Japan. It provides the background for the chronicled journey to the Far East of Henry Adams and John La Farge; the expatriation of Lafcadio Hearn; the conversion of Sturgis Bigelow to Buddhism; the indefatiguable Japanese pottery-collecting of Edwin Morse. It explains how Ezra Pound came to write of the Noh plays, and their influence on Yeats; and suggests how much the Imagists derived from the Japanese. But the central figure, sending home his shiploads of artifacts and teaching the Japanese to know their own art, goes unexplained.

Of the other portraits, I think the most successful are those of Catlin, painting his canvases of Indian life; Stephens, the ex-Tammany orator, facing his salvation as traveller and discoverer of ancient cities; and Leland who became more gypsy than the gypsies – to the point of telling them *their* fortunes. The common denominator of these individuals is their restlessness, their vigorous quest, not for empire but for art. With the whole American continent before them to explore and conquer, they turned their backs on it, and went in search of the past. Only Catlin stayed at home. The others were never happier than when they were far from America. Was there something lacking in the native scene

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which these adventurerers sought abroad? Or were they merely following in the footsteps of their fathers? Certainly they did not fear hardship; they seemed almost deliberately to seek it. Perhaps – even in those early times – they were conscious of a kinship between themselves as sensitive and cultivated Americans and the older civilizations. Lacking a past in America, they could go in search of it elsewhere.

As a biographer, Van Wyck Brooks believes that there is a fundamental relationship between the lives men lead and the things they do. He is primarily a chronicler and an *evoker;* he likes an atmosphere and a background. And he works, as biographers must, in mosaic, putting together bits and pieces of information as best he can to demonstrate human accomplishment. To be sure, we are sometimes too aware of the separate pieces; and sometimes a piece is fitted the wrong way, or is out of place. But Brooks' studies, compared with our giant biographies, exemplify the art of concision.

The shortcomings of Van Wyck Brooks' portraits stem from his reluctance to probe into the why and how of human endeavor. This seems to reflect his eternal optimism and faith in man's will to struggle and to succeed – and a particular faith in America's "coming of age." He likes men of action, whether their acts are of the physical or imaginative world. He likes their egotism and their swagger; he has a particular relish for all that is picturesque in their speech and dress. Life's coincidences enchant him. And like the poets of old, he wants to celebrate the deeds of heroes – in his case heroes of culture and civilization. His best portraits have an admirable quality of vision and vividness; they belong to the era of preexistential man. But his less finished work tends to be two-dimensional and pastiche. I think of Van Wyck Brooks as a poet who has wandered into the garden of biography; certainly his intensity of feeling for "the thing outlived, and lost and gone" is present in all that he writes: it is the human stuff out of which he has fashioned his work.

Our Interdependency with Canada

by Charles Burton Marshall

Thirteen of Britain's American colonies revolted. Two did not. The Federal Union formed by the thirteen in independence soon engrossed one of them – Florida – in the historic course of rounding out a continental position. For a considerable time Americans also inclined to eye covetously the other one. Canada, however, maintained its British ties, achieved independence by grant, and likewise became a continental nation, with the United States its sole neighbor, separated by the world's longest boundary. In numbers their growth has been at unequal rates, so that the United States is more populous than Canada in a ratio about the same as that by which all the rest of the world exceeds the United States.

The Long Polar Watch
by Melvin Conant
(Harper; $5)

Being Canada's sole neighbor has been for the United States a relatively happy situation as international relations go. Most Americans who have thought about the matter much would probably agree on the difficulty of imagining a better lot of people to have next door. Canadians, proud and possessive of autonomy, think about the relationship a great deal more than do Americans. For them, the combination of disparity and propinquity has its trials. The bromide offered by Americans trying to be friendly – that of regarding Canadians as of their own kind – galls because of its portion of apparent truth. Canada's population strings out along the southern border as if the land were an annex to the United States. Despite all Canadian wishes to the contrary, it tends really to be thus, as demonstrated by impressive economic data cited in Melvin Conant's book, *The Long Polar Watch.* Brooklyn sells more to Canada than does Argentina, Louisville more than New Zealand, and Detroit more than Brazil. Chicago's sales to Canada are about equal to West Germany's, and Seattle's almost as much as Norway's. "No other ally or trading partner is as important to the United States as Canada, and no third country has an economic impact on Canada in any way comparable to that of the United States," Conant sums up.

The focus of the book is not on economics but on mutual security – a subject of ever rising importance in the circumstances of the 20th Century, and especially so since defense has come to be for both countries principally a problem of countering the power and purposes of an adversary beyond the pole. Conant dissociates himself from wishful expectations of abatement. "No time limit can at present be placed on the Soviet threat," he writes. "Despite sporadic claims by some commentators that basic changes have already taken place in Soviet purposes and methods, there is no indication that the Soviet military threat is receding. Quite the contrary."

The peculiar character of the resulting relationship is described by Conant: "The American apparatus for massive retaliation serves to deter attack on Canada precisely to the same extent that it serves to deter attack on the United States itself." Canada is "the sole ally . . . of which this can be said." This imposes burdens along with benefits. Needs of security reinforce obdurate factors of economics and geography. "To their dismay," Conant observes, "and without either nation really intending it, Canadians find themselves inextricably involved in the purposes and power of the United States. If geography has made this relationship inescapable, the disparity of resources has made the partners all too manifestly unequal."

As to Canadians, the neighbor's power is often vexatious, but the thought of not having it to rely on would be terrifying. What bothers Canadians most is the inextricability. By definition they are stuck with the situation. A marginal few push for trying to break out of it. Of the preponderant majority, Conant notes optimistically, "At all times they have striven to demonstrate their loyal partnership in assuring the security of North America." At the same time, "Canadians are tireless in seeking ways to assert their national independence, sometimes for its own

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sake." The impulse leads Canadians to try doubling as a so-called middle power – a kind of Sweden – along with being the United States' most inseparable ally.

Conant's book contains urbane counsel for our neighbors to recognize that "many aspects to the . . . alliance that vex and frustrate Canadians . . . cannot be resolved . . . for they stem from inescapable facts of strategy"; and for Americans to renounce the folly of appearing to take inherent matters for granted, because "understanding and confidence . . . must be worked for and earned again at each step along the difficult path." It is hard to appraise the practical benefit of such wisdom. Foreclosure of choice is precisely the circumstance most likely to be resented by nations as by individuals. Moreover, in the press of trying to fathom attitudes and doings among some dozens of remote, strange polities, it is probably only natural to neglect to worry much about people so close and – despite subjective differences – so similar in many outward respects.

Recent tendencies in the relationship with Canada, so long taken for granted, have been unfavorable. The revision of attitudes called for by Conant is not easy, but it is important – even urgent.

The Harrowing of Suburbia

by Hilton Kramer

No publishing season would be complete without one. Its author is usually an "editor" of *Time* or *Fortune*, but not always. Its theme is customarily some large, shapeless, overstuffed issue having to do with the manners, the psychology – the "values" – of American life, and the approach must be sufficiently ponderous and high-flown to act as a frame for a style that is flawlessly commonsensical and tranquillizing in its clarity. The "message" will differ with the times. Are we working too hard, or not hard enough? Are we in danger of becoming too materialistic, or have we not yet developed a true appreciation of material things? Are we all inadequately educated, or are we suffering from too much learning? In the end it does not really matter which side of the question the writer adopts; what matters is the tone, at once brisk and relaxed, up-to-date and yet folksy and old-fashioned, that assures the reader at every turn of the page that something important is about to be revealed. Books of this genre, essentially products of the publishing business rather than the work of individual minds, are the written equivalent of Music for Thinking. Their function is not to analyze or inform, but to give readers the sensation that they are exercising their minds while never upsetting their assumptions or habits.

The Decline of Pleasure
by Walter Kerr
(Simon and Schuster; $5)

Mr. Kerr, who is the drama critic of *The New York Herald-Tribune*, has not written the worst book of this type; the pity is that he has been induced to write one at all. *The Decline of Pleasure* is not, as the conjunction of author and title might suggest, an analysis of the moribund Broadway theater. It is instead another of these irrelevant ruminations on life, art, and taste – taste, above all – addressed to the same suburban audience that goes to Broadway shows and reads Mr. Kerr in the *Trib* to find out why.

What he undertakes to explore in this book are the reasons why "we" (read: middle-class suburbanites with high incomes and low cultural thresholds) are losing our capacity to enjoy – freely, spontaneously, without worry or distraction – both art and life. This is an absorbing subject, if not exactly a newly discovered one. It does not tax the mind unduly to imagine several profitable approaches that might be made to it. One of these would surely be some inquiry into the material and technological changes that have created, in the course of a century or more, a class of literate white-collar workers, managers, and technicians whose income and social position have given rise to tastes, interests, and ambitions in the sphere of culture that their education and social values prevent them from ever satisfying. What would seem to be a guarantee of never really connecting with the subject is the assumption that the ideal relation of culture to pleasure was firmly established in those aristocratic societies that flourished before the advent of industrialism and modern conditions of work. To desire a return to the unhurried pleasures of the 18th-Century coffee house and the salon is not so much indefensible as it is, for most of us, unreal. To extol an ideal of pleasure while averting one's glance from the social and material conditions that made it possible is simply to indulge a fantasy that is irrelevant to the question that prompts it.

Mr. Kerr's work, where it has any coherent theme at all, is more or less hostage to a fantasy of this order. The pleasures of Dr. Johnson are what he seems to prefer, and even at times, to prescribe; the evil consequences of

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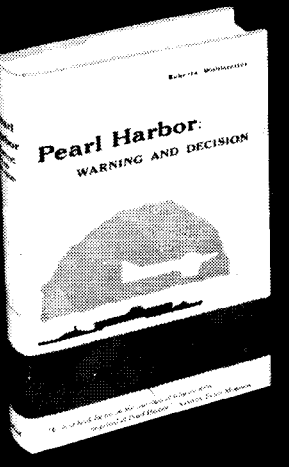

Pearl Harbor: Warning and Decision

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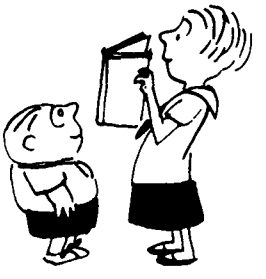
JULES FEIFFER

ONCE THERE WAS A RICH MERCHANT WHO HAD THREE HANDSOME YOUNG SONS TO WHOM HE ONE DAY PRESENTED A GIFT OF THREE BOWS AND THREE ARROWS.
"EACH OF YOU WILL SHOOT A SINGLE ARROW" INSTRUCTED THE FATHER "IN THE DIRECTION THAT YOUR ARROWS FLY THERE WILL YOU FIND YOUR FORTUNES."

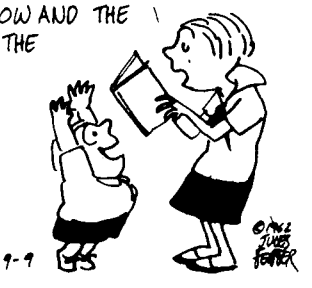
THE ELDEST SON FOLLOWED HIS ARROW TO WASHINGTON, MARRIED A BEAUTIFUL PRINCESS AND BECAME A BELOVED RULER ADMIRED FOR THE MANNER IN WHICH HE SOUGHT WORLD PEACE AND SENT TROOPS TO ASIER.

THE MIDDLE BROTHER FOLLOWED **HIS** ARROW TO WASHINGTON, MARRIED A BEAUTIFUL PRINCESS AND BECAME A LEGAL SCHOLAR, A FRIEND OF MINORITIES AND AN ADVOCATE OF A WIRE TAP BILL.



THE YOUNGEST BROTHER MARRIED A BEAUTIFUL PRINCESS AND JUST HUNG AROUND FOR AWHILE. HE WAS TOO YOUNG TO PLAY WITH BOWS AND ARROWS. HIS OLDER BROTHERS CRIED "**COME TO WASHINGTON! COME TO WASHINGTON!**"
"BUT I CAN'T WORK THIS DARN THING!" SAID THE YOUNGER BROTHER STILL TOO UNCOORDINATED TO PUT THE ARROW TO THE BOW.

"WE CAN'T HELP YOU" SAID THE OLDER BROTHER PLACING THE ARROW IN HIS HAND.
"YOU MUST DO IT YOURSELF" SAID THE MIDDLE BROTHER PLACING THE BOW IN THE PROPER POSITION.
"IT'S UP TO YOU" SAID BOTH BROTHERS AS THEY SHOT THE BOW. THE ARROW AND THE YOUNGER BROTHER ALL THE WAY TO WASHINGTON.



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Utilitarianism are what he laments; the specialized achievements of the modern avant-garde are what he wants to avoid. Yet his discussion of these and dozens of other (frequently related) issues is fatally compromised by his unwillingness to place them in a world the reader – at least a reader who does not live in Westchester and go to Broadway shows – can recognize as his own. The analysis of Utilitarianism is not the crux of an argument; it is a sour plum buried in a pie, just as his evocation of 18th-Century conversation is a confection sprinkled over its surface. Nothing in *The Decline of Pleasure* is quite real, neither ideas nor society nor the material conditions of life. At no point in this book is it ever possible to grasp what its author really believes about any particular book, style, or idea. His voice comes through as that of an earnest, humane, but disembodied spirit; his accent is marked with a spurious air of conviction while his mind seems devoid of real commitments.

In the end Mr. Kerr offers us nothing that we have not already seen advanced in the writings of Clifton Fadiman, Gilbert Highet, Louis Kronenberger, and other pundits of the mass media. Why, one wonders, do these staunch lieutenants of the Book-of-the-Month Club and the slick magazines always aver to the 18th Century as their happiest ideal of culture – a reflex that does not seem to afflict those lesser spirits who enjoy lower incomes but a higher degree of response to their own times? Is it perhaps that as writers for a mass audience they yearn for a time when their influence would not have to be purchased at the expense of intelligence? Mr. Kerr himself, in a very apt comment on something else, gives us an exact definition of his position and his style: "It is not so much a panderer as a dependent, and it is obliged to behave itself circumspectly."

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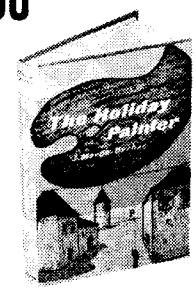

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MOVIES

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Yojimbo (Seneca)
Antigone (Ellis)

A small town is torn by a bloody feud between two gamblers, each of whom has a gang of killers financed by a merchant-backer. Quite by chance, a samurai arrives in this town, with nothing to his name but his sword and his skill with it; and he decides to capitalize on the feud by hiring out to one or the other gambler as a *yojimbo* (bodyguard). He is entirely disinterested – he slices up a few thugs merely to prove his prowess and send up his price. At the beginning he seems merely the most efficient killer of the lot. As the film progresses and the gambling factions plot and counter-plot, the samurai seems more and more admirable: by no means an ADA humanitarian but a man of courage and judgment who has absolutely no mercy for those with defective honor.

Like Kurosawa's *The Seven Samurai* and *The Hidden Fortress*, *Yojimbo* can be compared with a good Western. (There is a rumor that Hollywood is to re-make it as such.) It is a well-built, muscular story – a fine action show. But it is something more: the account of an anachronistic man, beginning to sense this fact and to face inevitable retreat. That is the core of his venal grimness; he knows that not only his future but his past – his background and tradition – is doomed.

Still, what ranks it above most of the better Westerns is not its script but its execution. *Shane* and *The Gunfighter* had Alan Ladd and Gregory Peck in their leading roles. This has Toshiro Mifune. Mifune's versatility (the true sort, a range of imagination and resource, not trick voices and make-ups) continues to impress. The animalistic

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brigand (*Rashomon*), the bumptious faker (*The Seven Samurai*), the lithe lover (*The Lower Depths*), among others, are supplemented now by this contained, amused, self-reliant swordsman. Admittedly, for those who have never seen Mifune before, his performance here may seem no more (but no less) remarkable than a strong "personality" performance by Spencer Tracy. However, against the background of Mifune's other work, it is not only highly enjoyable but a bit awesome.

Others noteworthy in the good cast are Eijirc Tono, the gruff innkeeper who resents the samurai's intrusion but is the first to recognize his worth, and Ikio Sawamura, the constable whose appearances recur like a comic woodwind theme . . . Which is a reminder that the score by Masaru Sato makes good commentary and support.

Kurosawa's technical virtuosity, freshness of vision, and dramatic instinct are of the first order. The intensity of his style is built largely on minimal cutting, an insistence on staying *with* the shot until he is forced to change or it is obligatorily interrupted by another; he often follows a character in close-up who takes us to another in close-up. He has also developed effective ways of having actors enter a film shot without letting them seem like stage entrances. Note the moment at the beginning when Mifune is strolling jauntily towards us (the camera trucking ahead of him) and a quarreling father and son run unexpectedly across the road to surprise him and us. Simultaneous planes of action give Kurosawa's scenes depth and interplay (the feet of the tortured innkeeper swinging large in the foreground, the guards squatting just behind him, the constable in the middle distance turning to discover the samurai in the background). He composes good pictures (Mifune and Tono seated, facing away from each other, as they converse), yet the pictures never delay the film, they augment it. He uses light and air subtly (the gray, wind-whipped square in which the two gangs line up). He punctuates with vivid images (the edge of the cloak slipping into the chest as Mifune hides, the whirling leaf suddenly pinned by a dagger).

Kurosawa has made twenty-one films, only nine of which have been shown here, and some of those nine were barely glimpsed. The other twelve are possibly of uneven quality, but it seems profligate to be thus wasteful (as far as this country is concerned) of a superior artist's work.

Donald Richie, who is expert in Japanese films, wrote recently that *Yojimbo* is a "hilarious lampoon of empty heroics." To a non-expert, the hilarity is not apparent. Some of the samurai's killings are done so quickly and against such odds that they produce a giggle, but the giggle rises less from incredibility than credibility, a conviction of the reality of this man and his outsize qualities, a kind of inverted wide-eyed wonder. In the August 13 *New Republic*, Robert Jay Lifton wrote of the "dry" and "wet" standards of modern Japanese youth, dryness being what we would call "cool" and wetness what we would call "square" or "corny." This samurai is dry with a dryness that would unnerve Frank Sinatra. What is dryer than astounding heroism for no other reason than money?

An earnest attempt has been made by a Greek company to film Sophocles' *Antigone*. The result is entirely predictable: a work that is organic and large-scale in its own medium has become segmented and small-scale. It is far from worthless; the quality of the cast, headed by Irene Papas and Manos Katrakis (the Creon), prevents that. But this play on film is like ballet on television: you wish it would go back where it came from. The best that can be said of it, with an unavoidable touch of patronization, is that it has some use for students who could not otherwise see the play.

Stanley Kauffmann

Notes on Contributors

Tad Szulc, *a Washington correspondent for* The New York Times, *is the coauthor of a recent book,* Cuban Invasion. Stanley Moss' *poem will appear in his forthcoming book,* Gods and Guests. Leon Edel *is at work on a biography of Henry James, two new volumes of which will appear this fall.* Hilton Kramer *is a contributing editor of* Arts *magazine.*

RECORDS

Mostly Mahler

Mahler's symphonic writing embodies his philosophical views and emotional responses to the world and human existence; and in his last such writing – *Das Lied von der Erde* and the Symphony No. 9, which he lived to complete but not to perform – the views and responses are those of a tormented, sick-at-heart, world-weary man filled with thoughts of imminent death. The final song of *Das Lied von der Erde* is a farewell to this earth; and we find ourselves again in the expressive world of that song in the very first measures of the Symphony No. 9, at the beginning of this time of slow instrumental movement whose opening section of farewell keeps recurring in alternation with sections of conflict, and whose conclusion after a half-hour is reminiscent of the *"ewig . . . ewig . . ."* at the end of the song. As I listened I found the operation of the Mahler rhetoric all too predictable this time; and it was difficult not to be impatient when Mahler – as though unable to believe he had said his say adequately – started the section of farewell still another time to say it again. I had the same reactions to the similar long slow movement that ends the work; and I was left feeling that in these two movements Mahler falls far short of what he achieves in the concluding Adagio of the Symphony No. 3. In between are an engaging *Laendler* and an unattractive *Burleske* which are like last recapitulations of what was said in all the earlier *Laendler* and *Burlesken*.

Bruno Walter, who conducted the

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first performance of the Symphony No. 9 in Vienna forty years ago, conducts the performance on Columbia M2L-276 and M2S-676. His performances of Mahler have been, for me, his only satisfying achievements in recent years. "When Walter comes to something beautiful," Toscanini observed once, "he melts"; and this melting gave a blurring softness and slackness to the music of Mozart, Beethoven and Schubert that should be firm and clear. But it did no harm to the rhetorically expansive, sprawling, amorphous music of Mahler; and indeed Walter's pacing and shaping – done with ripened mastery and impressive authority – gave the music continuity and coherence as well as expressive eloquence. This it does with the Symphony No. 9; and all that remains to say is that the orchestra is the *ad hoc* assemblage that was retained for the last years of Walter's work in the recording studio, and that after these years with him it is a superbly playing instrument for his purpose.

Though the chief interest in a new performance of Verdi's *Rigoletto* should be the Rigoletto, in the new performance on London A-4360 and OSA-1332 it is the Gilda of Joan Sutherland. The first phrases she is called on to sing employ the unattractively colorless middle range of her voice; and we hear in them the moaning that is an unattractive mannerism of her singing style. Only with the *"Quanto affetto"* passage of the later duet do we get the lovely high voice deploying itself in distinguished inflection of phrase that merits the excitement Sutherland arouses; but in the *"Caro nome"* a little later we hear phrases slowed down for new expressive emphasis that is called for by neither words nor music. It is, then, an uneven performance which adds up to a not especially notable Gilda. Cornell MacNeil's Rigoletto is good; Renato Cioni's Duke is coarse in voice and style; Siepi is a rough-voiced Sparafucile; Corena hasn't the sheer volume needed for Monterone's denunciations. The orchestra and chorus are those of the Academy of Saint Cecilia in Rome; and Nino Sanzogno conducts.

One of the post-war greats, Sena Jurinac, is the Leonore of the Beethoven *Fidelio* on Westminster XWN-3318 and WST-318 – the bloom gone from the

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voice, but its steadiness and power still there, and its musical and expressive employment still deeply affecting. The veteran Jan Peerce amazes one with his excellent singing as Florestan; but the voice of Maria Stader, the Marzelline, is not the lovely one of a few years ago. The other singers are acceptable; and the orchestra and chorus are those of the Bavarian State Opera; but the performance all but collapses under the unrelenting succession of Knappertsbusch's ponderously slow tempos.

The Spanish songs of the Renaissance on Angel 35888 and S-35888 are individually very fine but collectively sound very much alike, and are therefore best listened to a few at a time. They are sung exquisitely by Victoria de los Angeles to accompaniments by Ars Musicae, a group of players of old instruments directed by José M. Lamaña.

As against the superb pieces in the succession of fugues in Bach's *Art of Fugue*, the succession of canons and trio sonata in his *Musical Offering* are, to my ears, some of the uninteresting products of the Bach craftsmanship operating mechanically. The opening three-part fugue, however, is moderately interesting; and the concluding six-part fugue (usually referred to as the six-part ricercare) is one of Bach's magnificent achievements. In the excellent performance on Angel 35731 and S-35731 the opening fugue is played on the harpsichord by Kinloch Anderson, and the rest of the work by a small group from the Bath Festival Orchestra led by Menuhin.

Some of Schubert's loveliest writing is to be found in his numerous and brief German Dances for piano; and six of them, given additional fascination by the wonderfully contrived and imaginative orchestration of Webern, are performed effectively by Robert Craft with a recording orchestra on Columbia ML-5744 and MS-6344. With them is Mozart's Serenade K.361, which delights one with its lively and varied invention for the twelve winds in the animated movements, and moves one with the poignant beauty of the sustained cantilena of the Adagio. Craft has the excellent wind-players perform the animated movements with a suitable sharpness of rhythm and phrasing; but his andante tempo costs the Adagio a little of its impressiveness.

B. H. HAGGIN

Correspondence

The Case Against the Birdman

Sirs:

I call your attention to a review by Stanley Kauffmann of the film *Birdman of Alcatraz* in your issue of August 13.

Mr. Kauffmann states that Attorney General Kennedy refused to recommend the commutation of Robert Stroud (the "birdman"), "thus agreeing with James V. Bennett, the Federal Director of Prisons, who is Stroud's long time 'antagonist'. . . . It is difficult to believe that Stroud," now 73 and in the prison hospital in Springfield, Mo., "is not being used especially harshly because his second victim was a guard."

The insinuation is untrue and grossly unfair.

In 1909 Stroud was given 12 years for shooting a bartender on the complaint of a prostitute, for whom Stroud had been pimping, that the bartender had paid her $2 instead of the usual $10 for which she claimed to be entitled.

In 1911 Stroud attacked an orderly for alleged "snitching" and tried to stab him to death. In 1916 Stroud killed a guard at Leavenworth, was convicted of murder in the first degree, and was sentenced to be hanged. His sentence was commuted to life imprisonment by President Wilson. When he was transferred in 1959 from Alcatraz to Springfield, to receive better medical treatment, he assaulted a mentally retarded boy. The fact is that Stroud remains an aggressive and dangerous homosexual, with homicidal tendencies.

The charge that Bennett treated Stroud "especially harshly" is absurd, when the facts, which Mr. Kauffmann could easily have ascertained, are examined. In the Stroud case, Bennett, as usual, made no suggestion to anyone as to the propriety of clemency being granted Stroud by the President. Bennett would have been guilty of dangerous negligence had he recommended that Stroud be turned loose on society. Stroud still keeps his defiant attitude.

James Bennett was Director of the Bureau of Prisons when I was Attorney General from 1941 to 1945; and we worked in close association. He is the best Director the Bureau has ever had and his reputation for fairness and his

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understanding consideration for prisoners are outstanding. But I am writing this not only with the hope that Mr. Kauffmann will retract what he said about Mr. Bennett, but to point out how detrimental to proper law enforcement, particularly among the impressionable young, is this romanticizing and glamorizing of murderers in which Mr. Kauffmann indulges.

Francis Biddle
Wellfleet, Mass.

Brant and the Prayer Case

Sirs:

May I suggest that Irving Brant's "Madison and the Prayer Case" (July 30) strikes a political scientist as oddly biased? Not just biased, but in an odd sort of way.

To begin with, ". . . the First Amendment came from Madison. . . ." Fundamental laws hardly "come." They are passed, adopted. Congress *proposed* the First Amendment. The State Legislatures by ratification *made it law*. . . .

What Madison himself proposed in Congress was changed. Everybody with any knowledge of the history of the First Amendment knows that. So to say that the First Amendment "came" from Madison becomes rather unintelligible, unless, of course, one assumes that what a biographer of Madison is convinced was Madison's inner thought and desire by some lergerdemain *ipso facto* is American Constitutional Law.

After Mr. Brant's first volume on Madison appeared, Anson Phelps Stokes published his three-volume *Church and State in the United States* (1950). He took Mr. Brant to task rather severely. This portion of his criticism, based, of course, only on Mr. Brant's first volume, is interesting:

> ". . . This conclusion [of Mr. Brant] may be true, but Mr. Brant cites no authoritative evidence for it, and none is likely to appear unless the minutes of the Senate-House Conference Committee which produced the final draft between September 21 and 25, 1789, are brought to light, or other conclusive evidence is forthcoming. As a matter of fact Madison considered the amendment 'useful not essential' [source cited]. His great emphasis was on securing a 'legal equality' among sects. . . ."

Stokes might be wrong and Mr. Brant right on aspects of Madison's views on "establishment." This is not the issue. Even what Madison intended the First Amendment to mean is important only insofar as it sheds light on what Congress as a whole meant.

The real howler in Mr. Brant's article, however, where his bias shows plainly, is the way he shifts gears in describing Hamilton's authorship of Washington's proclamation of a day of prayer after the suppression of the Whiskey Rebellion. Mr. Brant takes off by simply stating a fact: it was "written by Alexander Hamilton." (His adding "as a campaign weapon against the Democrats" we can skip). Four paragraphs later the proclamation, now a "politico-religious proclamation," is described as having been "foisted on President Washington by Hamilton."

To my mind, this isn't even respectable journalism, let alone objective history. Anyone who has studied Paltsits' *Washington's Farewell Address* (an exquisite collection of the correspondence and various drafts exchanged by Washington and Hamilton) knows that Hamilton didn't "foist" declarations on our first President.

It is perhaps germaine to recall that Washington thought of retiring at the end of his first term. At that time he asked Madison to prepare a draft of a farewell address. By the end of his second term, however, he had second thoughts about the selection of a collaborator. So he sent Madison's draft to Hamilton, asking him to revise it. Hamilton did. But he also composed a new version. It was this which Washington adopted. The story is relevant in that it shows whose judgment Washington respected more, Hamilton's or Madison's.

For we now seem to be in for quite a season of canonizing Madison as apparently endowed with a charisma on "establishment" foreclosing a closer examination of this complex and, unfortunately badly confused question.

It is no tribute to American scholarship or jurisprudence to find ourselves led into a *cul de sac*. The only way out, I think, is to start all over.

Robert C. Hartnett, S.J.
Political Science Department
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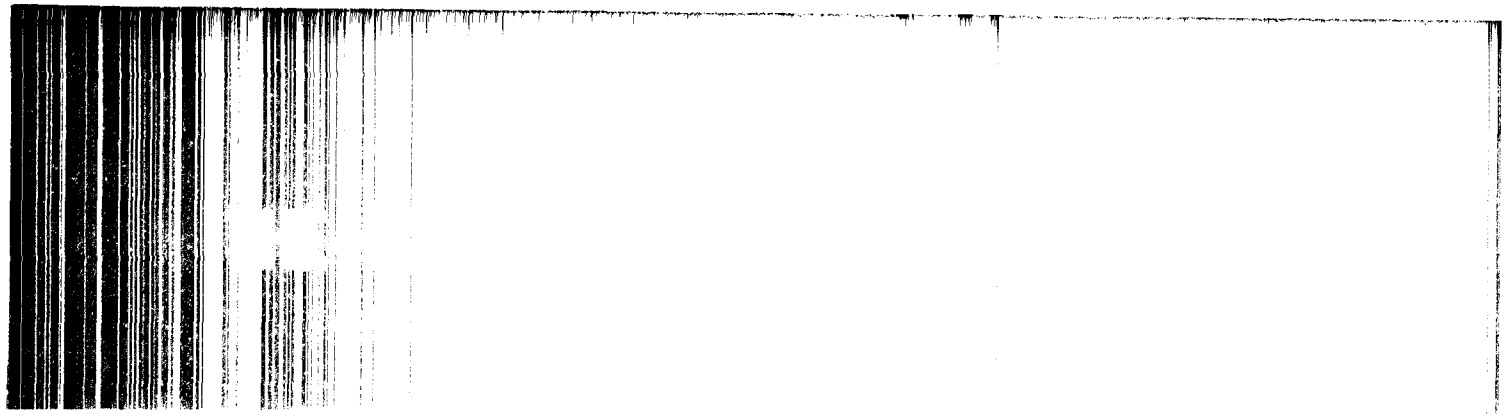

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